It Seems to Heywood Broun

The Nation

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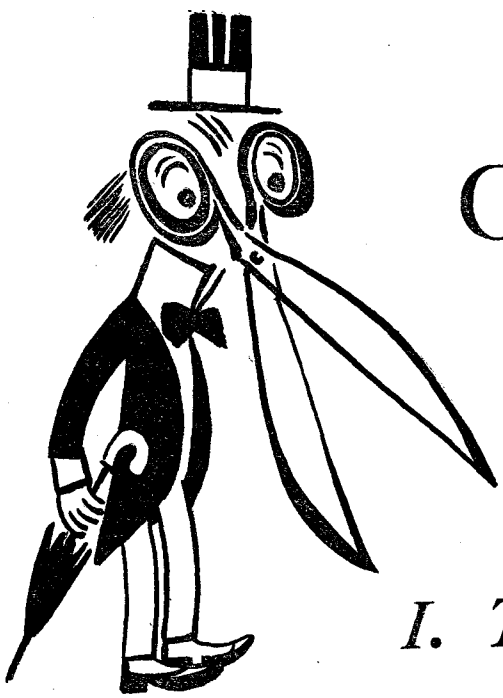

The Christian Science Censor

by Henry Raymond Mussey

I. The Machinery of Suppression

Naval Politics at London

by Norman Angell

Fascist Finance *by Francesco Nitti*

in the International Relations Section

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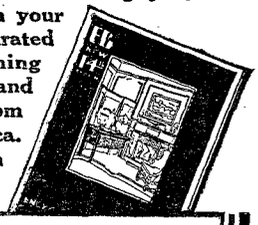

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IF THE NAVAL CONFERENCE in London has gone to work slowly and quietly we see no reason for discouragement therein. Indeed, we count it as a good omen that there has been a great drop in the number of columns of forecasting, gossip, rumor, wild supposition, and anonymous assertion which came over the cables during the first days of the meeting. Our American correspondents over there are reported to be amazed that the conference quickly disappeared from the first pages of the British dailies. The latter are more accustomed than we to the slow give and take of international gatherings. Meanwhile, Ramsay MacDonald has given further proof of England's sincerity by ordering the complete abandonment of the two cruisers the Admiralty had under way, on which he temporarily stopped work last summer. We, on the other hand, despite Mr. Hoover's assertion to the contrary, are continuing to build the cruisers we had laid down. Furthermore, in London the French and Italians have locked horns on the question of parity, and the Americans appear to have won agreement to their demand that cruisers and smaller craft be discussed before the battleship is considered. If this delay is trying to the American public let it utilize the time to send by letter and by telegram to the White House and to London its insistence that something worth while be accomplished.

LOUD IS THE WAILING in automobile circles because the proposed tariff against American motor cars, which, if adopted, will practically exclude our motor products from the market, has reached the French Parliament. The only ray of comfort is that the *Temps,* the semi-official organ of the government, has come out against the plan on the ground that Tardieu does not care to engage in a tariff row with the United States just now. Whether this bill is in the nature of a bargaining move or not, there is no question of the danger of a pan-European combination against us comprising Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Belgium, and Czecho-Slovakia. The plan is to fix a quota of American cars for each country beyond which none may be imported. As for a higher tariff, Dr. Allmers, head of the German industry, is not in favor of it, because, he says, "we do not want increased prices, we only desire a larger share of the German market." He declares that there are today only seventeen German automobile factories compared with fifty-nine before the war, while the motor-truck manufacturers have dwindled from thirty-nine to ten. If this six-nation combination becomes a reality it will have its political effect in England, where Mr. Snowden faces the united fire of the British manufacturers because he threatens to remove the existing protection against foreign cars.

ON THIS SIDE OF THE OCEAN the Senate continues slowly to mangle what is left of the House bill. It defeated the proposal to levy a duty on hides which Senator Hawes declared would add $100,000,000 to the cost of living of the American people. The National Shoe Retailers Association demands free raw materials and admits that, if the tariff on hides should stay on, it will increase the cost of shoes to the public and to the retailers. No vote has so clearly brought out the clash of interests between West and East as this one which leaves the West without a duty on hides and the East without its desired tariff on boots and shoes. Once more the line-up was wholly non-partisan. Senator Walsh, of Massachusetts, Democrat, who frequently makes low-tariff speeches, did his best to convince the Senate that putting boots and shoes and hides on the free list would ruin these two big industries. If our information is correct, it is not so much foreign competition which has injured the industry but intersectional rivalry within the United States. By contrast Senator Hawes, Republican, of Missouri, declared emphatically that Missouri produces more boots and shoes than any other State and that it is unequivocally for keeping them on the free list. As for the Progressives, even Senator Norris voted for the duty on hides, as did all the others of this group except Senators Blaine and La Follette. Finally, on January 27, the Senate upheld the duties on rayon.

EXTREME BRUTALITY and lawlessness have again blackened the disgraceful record of the New York police. The occasion this time was a meeting which some two hundred Communists undertook to hold in front of the City Hall on Saturday, January 25, in protest against the

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shooting of a Communist picket by the police on January 17. As usual, the promoters of the meeting ignored the legal requirement of a police permit, and the hour chosen, just before one o'clock, coincided with the rush-hour exit of thousands of employees from nearby offices and shops. A mere handful of police, acting without violence, would almost certainly have sufficed to prevent the meeting and keep the crowd moving. Instead, a hundred patrolmen and twenty-five mounted policemen charged the crowd, clubbing, striking with their fists, and riding down men and women indiscriminately and driving them to refuge in buildings and the elevated-railway station. A reporter of the New York *World* was clubbed notwithstanding the display of his identification card, and Robert Minor, editor of the Communist *Daily Worker,* was painfully injured. The responsibility for this outrage rests first upon the police; next upon Grover Whalen, Police Commissioner, under whose sole authority the police of the city act; and next upon Mayor Walker, who appointed Whalen and keeps him in office.

AFTER THE CABINET MEETING on January 21 President Hoover announced, on the basis of information furnished him by the Department of Labor, that there had been a distinct increase of employment all over the country during the ten days just past. According to an Associated Press dispatch, Secretary Davis said that January 1 actually marked the turn, but that it was not entirely evident until January 6, when reports showed a steady gain. On the day following President Hoover's announcement Frances Perkins, State Industrial Commissioner for New York, declared that figures at her disposal showed a steady decline in employment in that State since October. In a careful factual statement, quoting figures from more than 50 out of the 1,700 concerns regularly reporting, Miss Perkins pointed out that seven out of eleven groups of industries showed an actual decline in employment during the first fifteen days of January, while four showed a slight increase. By contrast with her information, based on actual statistical reports, she indicated that the Washington outgiving, purporting to show conditions during the preceding ten days, could not possibly have any adequate statistical basis. On the next day Secretary of Labor Davis, apparently without alleging a single definite fact in support of his previous statement, characterized as "unfortunate" any attempt to make "politics out of the situation." We agree with the secretary, but we do not think that Miss Perkins is the guilty party.

THE EXTRAORDINARY FINANCIAL plight of Chicago has attracted nation-wide attention during the past week. With policemen, firemen, teachers, hospital nurses, and court and other employees all unpaid to the extent of more than $11,000,000, with no money to pay mothers' pensions or to buy coal for the schools and the county poor-farm, with $21,000,000 of unsecured debts, half of it representing unpaid bills and the other half improperly diverted trust and other surplus funds, with a floating debt of $270,000,000 secured by short-term notes, in addition to $6,000,000 in outstanding judgments, and with the bankers finally refusing to buy any more tax-anticipation warrants, the city is in a state of virtual bankruptcy, and a citizens' committee which has finally come forward under the leadership of Silas Strawn with the proposal of a further loan of $20,000,000 has suggested conditions that resemble those of a receivership. Chicago and Cook County have a complicated system of government and taxation, with two dozen different bodies making separate appropriations and tax levies. The three heaviest spenders—the city, the county, and the school board—have for years spent their taxes a year before collecting them, being allowed under the Illinois law to borrow on tax-anticipation warrants up to 75 per cent of the tax levies. But beside that, the city has borrowed from its trust and surplus funds for the other 25 per cent, the county has piled up its outstanding bills till they now come to $7,000,000, and the school board has managed to spend $24,000,000 more than it took in between 1922 and 1928. Three-quarters of all taxes come from real estate, and the State Tax Commission in 1928 ordered a reassessment in Cook County. The work is still in progress, with tentative figures showing a reduction of $400,000,000 in Chicago and an increase of $300,000,000 in the "country towns" of the county. The latter, needless to say, are fighting the city vigorously. Meanwhile, Chicago has collected no real-estate taxes since 1928. Mayor Thompson in the crisis plays for political position, and Alderman Nelson raises a grave question whether acceptance of the Strawn committee's terms might not weaken, if it did not destroy, the confidence of the public in their elected officials. We do not see how anything of that sort could happen in Chicago.

FIVE MEN ARE TO GO ON TRIAL at Charlotte, North Carolina, on February 24 for the killing of Mrs. Ella May Wiggins, textile striker who was shot during the disturbances attendant on the Gastonia strike last fall. *The Nation,* in its issue of January 8, stated erroneously that a trial for the murder of Mrs. Wiggins had already been held. The charge is second-degree murder, and Solicitor John G. Carpenter of Gaston County, who acted as prosecuting attorney during the trial of seven textile organizers convicted of the murder of Police Chief Aderholt, will prosecute this case also. Mr. Carpenter was outraged when petitions for a change of venue from Gastonia to Charlotte were received favorably by Judge Clement in the Gaston County Superior Court; he could not conceive the possibility of a fair trial not being held in Gastonia. Fortunately his associate in the trial, Attorney General Brummitt—sent by Governor Gardner to assist him—thought otherwise. Threats of violence and intimidation directed at mill workers, printed in the Gastonia *Gazette* the day before Mrs. Wiggins was killed, were adduced with other testimony to show that a change of venue was necessary. Mr. Carpenter, who displayed the utmost zeal in the trial of the seven mill workers, will have an opportunity to show himself equally zealous in the cause of justice when the new trial commences at Charlotte. Governor Gardner has made it clear that he wishes justice to be done. And there are evidences that North Carolina is wincing under the charges of unfairness in the mill trials leveled at it by the rest of the country.

MISSIONARIES IN CHINA are reported to have been greatly disturbed by the statement of Foreign Minister Henderson in the House of Commons on January 22 that "the special treaty privileges possessed by British missionaries have been or are in the course of being surrendered." As a matter of fact there is nothing new in the

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statement except a report of progress. The Chamberlain memorandum of December 18, 1926, laying down certain principles regarding the policy of foreign Powers in China to which Great Britain itself was prepared to adhere, clearly foreshadowed the relinquishment of all special legal privileges for foreigners and the recognition of the right of China to complete self-government. Mr. Henderson's statement, which was made in reply to a question, was merely an enumeration of the steps that have been taken in pursuance of a further offer of concessions made by the British Government in a memorandum of January 27-28, 1927. The anxiety of the missionaries is based in part upon their fear that the strong anti-Christian agitation in China, joined to repeated depredations upon missionary property by lawless soldiers, may put an end to missionary work in the interior where the authority of the Nanking Government does not effectively extend.

THE PARAGUAY-BOLIVIA difficulty has broken out again, with each country, as before, accusing the other of invasion of its territory and insult to its sovereignty, and with Bolivia sternly announcing that while it would "never be guilty of disturbing the peace of America" it nevertheless feels "bound to take military measures" to defend its rights. Just what has happened is not clear, the authenticity of certain alleged Bolivian messages which the Paraguayan Government has published having been vigorously denied, but it seems to be agreed that there has been an armed collision in the disputed Chaco Boreal region and that one soldier on each side has been killed. The interesting thing about the row is that the protests and appeals of Paraguay and the denials and counter-charges of Bolivia have been addressed not to their great and good friend at Washington, high priest of pan-American comity and protector of everything south of the Rio Grande, but to the League of Nations; and that the officials of the League, apparently with no fear of Washington before their eyes, are actually exerting themselves in an effort to induce Bolivia and Paraguay to keep the peace. Shades of Monroe!

IF ANYONE UNACQUAINTED with the autograph market were asked to guess which of the later Presidents of the United States stood highest in value he would surely not guess the last one chosen from Ohio. Yet it is a fact that a holograph letter of President Harding recently brought the amazing price of $1,100. The explanation is that, in this day of letters dictated to a stenographer and transcribed on the typewriter, Harding wrote few letters in his own hand. Cynics insist also that as many as possible of his letters were called in and destroyed after the oil scandals began to become public. Whether this is gossip or founded on fact, the truth is that because of the rarity of his letters Harding bids fair in the course of years to pass even George Washington as a prize for autograph hunters. A fine Washington letter of real historic value can be purchased for $2,500; his mere signature to a simple Revolutionary document brings $225. Lincolniana stand very high, while the demand for Benjamin Franklin items has also run up the prices. Yet one still hears of people destroying letters of great value; the latest case is of a Maine woman who cut Lincoln's signature from a dozen unpublished letters of his and threw the letters away!

IT IS WITH GREAT REGRET that *The Nation* chronicles the retirement from the management of the Columbus, Georgia, *Enquirer-Sun* of Julian and Julia Harris after ten years at the helm of that newspaper. They made a great paper, for they gave it courage, integrity, and conscience. They knew no class lines and yielded to no prejudices. Their minds were attuned to the needs of a new world and they had a vision which ranged far beyond the shores of their own country. In short, they were devoted patriots in the best sense. Unfortunately, they were not too good to be true but too good to last, and their paper has gone into other hands. Rightly the Pulitzer prize was awarded to their daily in 1925 for most distinguished civic service "in its brave, energetic fight against the Ku Klux Klan, against the enactment of a law banning the teaching of evolution, against dishonest and incompetent public officials, and for justice to the Negro and against lynching." They made great personal and financial sacrifices, but they are responsible for a glorious episode in the history of the modern press of America.

"JOURNEY'S END," the powerful war play that has been playing more than a year to crowded houses in New York, was presented by the New York company the other day for the cadets at West Point. It is reported that the performers scored the hit of their careers; nowhere have they heard such whole-hearted applause as greeted them in the United States Military Academy. And though at first one is encouraged by the spectacle of young men about to be soldiers applauding the picture of the ugliness and futility of modern warfare, one pauses for a second thought and wonders if that was what they really were applauding after all. Those who lived through the last war saw in Mr. Sherriff's play meaningless sacrifice, unrewarded heroism, futile courage under fire. Men played the game, decently, uncomplainingly, quietly, although they did not know what it was all about. But these youngsters at West Point, to whom the war which ended twelve years ago is a faint, boyish memory, watched Captain Stanhope go out from his dugout into the sure death that was splintering around his head and thought—what? Did they, by any chance, think, as young soldiers from time immemorial have thought, how glorious, how sweet it is to die thus strongly and bravely? We who know better say that it is neither glorious nor sweet. But they might make the same answer that a young man of twenty-one made not long ago to one of thirty-five: "It's all very well for you to talk," he said. "You've had your war. And we'll have ours, too. See if we don't." Those who love peace must find an answer to this before they achieve their desire.

WE DEEPLY REGRET that an error was made in our issue of last week in announcing in an editorial, The New Magazines, that the *Symposium* had been taken over by the *Hound & Horn*. This was not true; the *Symposium* will continue to be published as a separate quarterly under its present title. *The Nation's* statement was based on an advertisement which appeared in several periodicals announcing that the editorial and business affairs of the *Symposium* had been merged with those of the *Hound & Horn*. This advertisement, we now learn, was inserted when negotiations for such a merger were in progress.

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Economics King in Washington

IF anybody doubts the extent to which economic interests have come to control our political life let him look to Washington. Wherever his glance may fall he will behold economic groups struggling to obtain what they consider fair treatment at the hands of the national legislature, or brazenly seeking to control our public life. Purely political issues have largely disappeared; the difference between the two parties is simply the measure of their varying reactions to agricultural or industrial proposals. There is nowhere a clear-cut cleavage on principles between them, least of all now on the tariff, as to which it is merely a question whether the minority will or will not favor an arbitrarily fixed rate lower than the one proposed by the majority. Opposition has become a matter of degree.

Take the numerous investigations now going on. The outsider at a distance rages at them, especially if he is a business man. He denounces the Senate and the Trade Commission as busybodies meddling in concerns other than their own. "If Congress would only tend to its business and let us alone," he says, "it would get its work done and business would be far better off." What he does not realize is that the Senate investigations are a legitimate and necessary part of its job; that by its inquiries it is fulfilling a function for which we should have to create some other agency if the Senate were not there to play the role of general inquisitor. That Washington seethes with business investigations is not the fault of the Senate; the responsibility rests largely with the business men and organizations which create situations that compel investigation. It was not the Senate that was responsible for the oil-field scandals. The Senators who carried on that inquiry and those who are giving hours and hours to a review of the activities of Big Business in various directions would gladly, we believe, be spared this duty so that they could give more time to their regular law-making functions.

For example, there is the inquiry into the propaganda methods of the electric-light companies and other public utilities. This was no gratuitous fishing excursion. The facts laid before the Senate were such as to compel it to move. On the floor of that body the fight was not as to whether there should or should not be an inquiry, for every Senator voted for it; the only difference was that the Progressives wanted the Senate itself to undertake it, and the majority put it into the hands of the Federal Trade Commission, many of them hoping, it must be admitted, that the thing would be buried there. The facts brought out by the commission related to the acts of the public utilities; it is the character of these facts, not the inquiry into them, which has scandalized the public. The inquiry into the radio situation was in its inception no mere hunting around for some new field for governmental snooping. From the beginning, government control of the radio has been taken for granted as absolutely necessary. What has given particular prominence to the recent testimony has been not merely the question as to how the great broadcasting companies were treating the various currents of opinion in the United States, and how impartially they were administering the great trusts committed to their hands, but whether the United States should or should not deliberately create an industrial monopoly in the field of air and land and under-water telegraphy. That issue was raised by Big Business itself. It cannot complain hereafter if the Senate deals often and loudly with this question.

Again, for the inquiry into the lobby in Washington Big Business has only itself to thank. When it hires a man like Shearer and the various public-relations counsels who have appeared on the witness stand for preposterous financial rewards, it must pay the full price. Nor is it possible to offset this as the public-utilities companies have tried to do by showing how much their business is menaced by the activities of various civic bodies intent either on public ownership or a far more rigid control of public-service corporations. The one represents an open and above-board association of public-spirited persons who have nothing personally to gain by their propaganda; the other represents too often an underhand and corrupting effort to impose the will of a small group upon the country. But the point we wish to stress is the inevitability with which questions like these drift into the arena at Washington. It is impossible to assert now that Congress has no right to spend its time on purely business affairs. Let an industry get into trouble, a canal go bankrupt, like the Cape Cod Canal, or weak railroads begin to lose ground, and the shoe is on the other foot. Then it is Big Business itself which declares that it is the primary function of Congress to take an interest in the particular industry affected and to safeguard it from disaster.

Even more striking is the profound interest awakened in Washington itself by the sparring between Congress and industry. Many there are interested in the naval conference at London, but what the more thoughtful legislators and press commentators upon Washington events are most excited about is the power fight. It is here that the great battle is to be waged; it is on this issue that men will be finally tried out as to whether they are for the old order of private privilege and private exploitation of great natural resources, or whether they wish the government to hold these resources for the people, and if necessary to operate them. The principles which will be established upon this issue will have a widespread effect upon all industry and upon the government's relation to it, and today the belief prevails that probing into the power question has not yet developed the most sensational facts. But whether this is so or not, there are other great questions awaiting the action of Congress. The whole problem of railroad consolidation comes next. Who shall profit by it? The railroads that save millions through consolidation, or the public, particularly the farmers, that so urgently needs lower rates? We have no doubt that if all government control could be removed the railroads themselves would unify the entire system in an extremely short space of time, just as it is obvious that if Congress does not prevent there will soon be one supreme power company in the United States. Economics is king in Washington. Who shall rule the king?

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Liquidating the War

PRECISELY what the members of the reparations conference at The Hague agreed to when, on January 20, they signed the protocol approving the Young Plan cannot be fully known until the texts of the twenty-odd documents are published. A curious indefiniteness has hung over the reported proceedings of the conference from the first. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, president of the Reichsbank, for example, stirred up a great political row in Germany by insisting that the report of the Young committee which he signed was not identical with the Young Plan which Germany was asked to accept, and even threatened to debar the Reichsbank from subscribing to the capital stock of the Bank for International Settlements; but no American correspondent, as far as we have noticed, took the trouble to point out wherein, if at all, his contention was well founded. More curious still, the bank plan, the most novel feature of the Young scheme and a matter of the greatest international importance, has hardly figured in the dispatches to the American press at all.

The main outlines of the great settlement, on the other hand, are clear. Two important modifications have been made in the reparations part of the Young proposals. The schedules of German annuities have been altered by deducting the amounts which Germany will pay directly to the United States under the treaty recently concluded, and sanctions may be imposed upon Germany for default in its payments if the World Court finds that the default has been intentional. Preliminary arrangements are also reported to have been made for the mobilization of a part of the annuities in a $300,000,000 loan, and for the allocation of the loan among the world's financial markets. The United States, it has been intimated, will be looked to for a subscription of about one-fourth of the amount, but the loan itself probably cannot be floated before May. The vexatious question of the non-German reparations, with Hungary stubbornly opposing the claims of the Little Entente states, has been settled in principle only, the actual working out of the details of a complicated compromise being left to a small commission sitting at Paris.

The most important administrative feature of the agreement is, of course, the approval of the Bank for International Settlements, the statute of the bank as drafted by a commission at Baden-Baden having, apparently, been accepted without material change. It will be recalled that the bank, as originally planned by the Young committee, was to enjoy, in addition to most of the usual banking privileges, vast powers of participation in trade and industrial development wherever the directors chose to operate. The volume of adverse criticism which this proposal of a gigantic superbank evoked evidently impressed the Baden-Baden commission, for in drafting the statute they threw all these general provisions overboard and confined the bank strictly to the banking field as an agency for handling reparation payments. The bank, which is to be located at Basle, will have a capital of 500,000,000 Swiss francs (about $96,500,000), one-fourth of which must be paid in; it will be entitled to a commission of one-tenth of one per cent on the payments which it handles; and it will have the use of non-interest-bearing deposits of 125,000,000 marks contributed one-half by Germany and one-half by Germany's creditors. A writer in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* estimates that the bank should be able to earn 14 per cent on its paid-in capital, but a substantial part of its net profits will eventually go to reduce the amount of the German annuities.

Legally, what was done at The Hague does not put the new scheme fully into effect; first, because the protocol must be ratified by the various governments concerned and, second, because the bank cannot be organized until Switzerland has removed a constitutional obstacle to the grant of a charter for more than fifteen years. The German payments, however, will now be made under the new schedules. To the extent that the Hague settlement puts an end to a controversy which has embittered European politics for ten years, reduces Germany's burden, provides for the commercialization of the German annuities and their administration through a specially organized bank, and removes all justification for the further maintenance of French troops in Germany, there will be profound satisfaction over what has been achieved. The uncertain element in the transaction is the bank, an institution managed by directors most of whom will be chosen with an eye to politics, subject to political pressure if its course is not satisfactory either to Germany or to any of the creditor governments, and so contrived, through its provision for American representation in its directorate, as to keep up, indirectly at least, America's connection with a reparations issue with which the American Government has repeatedly declared it would have nothing to do.

What is Man?

THE appearance of Volume I of the "Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences" (The Macmillan Company, $7.50) is another milestone marking the progress of the sciences that seek an understanding of man, and another achievement of American scholarship. The editor-in-chief, Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, McVickar Professor of Political Economy at Columbia University, emphasizes in the Preface the international character of the undertaking, and three-eighths of the 163 contributors to this first volume are foreign scholars. Yet the impression remains of a prevailingly American work, as was inevitable in view of the genesis and execution of the undertaking, and the mark of the Columbia group among the Americans is unmistakable.

The project of such an encyclopedia was launched in 1923 after a good deal of previous discussion of the general idea, and the undertaking was definitely organized in the spring of 1927 under the sponsorship of the American Anthropological Association, the American Association of Social Workers, the American Economic Association, the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Psychological Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, the Association of American Law Schools, and the National Education Association. The work has been swiftly executed, and it is planned to bring out the fifteen volumes constituting the entire monumental undertaking in

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regular sequence at the rate of three volumes a year. We have learned to apply the methods of mass production not only to steel but to scholarship. The volume now in hand covers the topics (alphabetically arranged) from Aaronson to Allegiance.

Professor Seligman in the Introduction points out that the social sciences have reached the point where their further development demands a clear recognition of their interrelations. Man after all is one being, not many; his economic activity, for example, is not to be wholly understood aside from a knowledge of his psychological reactions, his political organization, his religious and other institutions, his habits, customs, manners, and morals. There may be reasonable doubt whether there can be such a thing as a genuine social science, but if there is to be such it must certainly be a science of man and not a series of disjointed sciences about man. Half the volume in hand, accordingly, is taken up with a useful survey, written by a dozen scholars, of the development of social institutions and thought in the Western world from the days of ancient Greece to the present, and an account, of more doubtful utility, of the growth of the social sciences as disciplines. It seems strange that in an undertaking of this scope there should be no apparent intention of considering the social thought of that half of the human race that lives east of Suez. After all, every passing day makes it clearer that the West must do its part in adjusting itself to the thought of India and China, instead of expecting the adjustment to be all in the other direction.

The final test of a work of this kind must be its authoritativeness and usefulness, and not simply its general ideas. It is a fair question whether the completely satisfactory execution of a task of such magnitude would not really require the full-time cooperation over a period of years of a considerable group of ripe scholars, rather than the handling of the actual editorial work, in large part, by younger investigators, however competent; yet the names of the editor-in-chief and the associate editor, Alvin Johnson, are a guaranty of the scholarly competence of the work, and the remarkable list of editorial consultants and the names of the contributors to this volume are evidence of a wide catholicity in the choice of collaborators. Probably no student would be wholly satisfied with every item in the book lists that accompany all the articles, but the bibliographical work appears to be generally good. The volume in hand contains many excellent articles by men of the first rank in their respective fields, and such articles cover an extraordinarily wide range of topics. What older encyclopedia, for example, would have contained a discussion like that on academic freedom by Arthur O. Lovejoy? The treatment of advertising, we think, contains business-school ballyhoo as well as social science. Probably no two students would agree on just who was to be included in the biographies that are to occupy a fifth of the entire space, but certainly no one conversant with the difficulties of encyclopedia-making will question lightly the judgment of conscientious editors either in choice of topics, in space assignment, or in the selection of writers. A complete appraisal must await the appearance of future volumes, but it is not too early to praise the boldness of the project, the breadth of the conception of social science that it embodies, and the speed and efficiency with which the work has been executed.

Einstein on Peace

PROFESSOR ALBERT EINSTEIN, who promulgated a theory that turned the world of science upside down, uttered by means of a cable dispatch to the New York *Times* the other day a theory of practical politics equally revolutionary and world-shaking. Professor Einstein has expressed the essence of the almost limitless discussions on disarmament and limitation of armaments more cogently than many naval conferences could do—or have done. We quote his remarks in full:

> It has now become a general recognized axiom that the giant armaments of all nations are proving highly injurious to them collectively.
>
> I am even inclined to go a step further by the assertion that, under present-day conditions, any one state would incur no appreciable risk by undertaking to disarm—wholly regardless of the attitude of the other states. If such were not the case it would be quite evident that the situation of such states as are unarmed or only partially equipped for defense would be extremely difficult, dangerous, and disadvantageous—a condition which is refuted by the facts.
>
> I am convinced that demonstrative references to armaments are but a weapon in the hands of the factors interested in their production or in the maintenance and development of a military system for financial or political-egotistic reasons.
>
> I am firmly of the opinion that the educational effect of a first and genuine achievement in the realm of disarmament would prove highly efficacious, because the succeeding second and third steps would then be immeasurably simpler than the initial one; this for the obvious reason that the first results of an understanding would considerably weaken the familiar argument for national security with which parliamentarians of all countries now permit themselves to be intimidated.
>
> Armaments can never be viewed as an economic asset to a state. They must ever remain the unproductive exploitation of men and material and an encroachment on the economic reserves of a state through the temporary conscription of men in the active periods of their lives—not to mention the moral impairment resulting from a preoccupation with the profession of war and the moral processes of preparing a nation for it.

This statement makes one or two points worth repeating. First, that the makers of munitions and naval armament and the military and naval bodies which use them are primarily interested in their perpetuation. We may stop and ask ourselves if we are willing to make war for the double purpose of giving a general or an admiral a job and bestowing largess upon the owner of a munitions plant. Put in those simple terms, of course, the answer is a flat negative. The second point of importance in Professor Einstein's statement is that in all probability nothing in the world would happen to a country which announced that, irrespective of similar action in other countries, it proposed to scrap its armaments. We are willing to predict that any such epoch-making move on the part of a great nation would result in similar moves by other great nations. The way to disarm—we have said it times without number—is to disarm. It is refreshing to hear the world's most famous scientist say the same thing.

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It Seems to Heywood Broun

NO one outside the ranks gets any thanks for defending Communists. Roger Baldwin, who would have stayed the clubs of the police, was to the little reds a "sanctimonious petty-bourgeois liberal." And they have been equally severe and silly in their criticism of Norman Thomas and of other Socialist leaders who were fighting for human rights at a time when most of the Communist crowd were still too young to wash behind the ears unaided. All this is irritating, and yet none but police would seriously contend that irritation was a proper justification for wholesale clubbing. The validity of Communist philosophy and practice is wholly irrelevant in the matter of the City Hall riot. Life can go on sweetly enough even if the left wing on occasion stoops to folly, but we of the City of New York are in a bad way if our police prove craven brutes disposed to go into a clubbing panic on the slightest provocation.

The issue lies not between the extreme radicals and the uniformed force. This is a matter touching the entire citizenry. Communists may rest assured that I have no intention of trying to make them my special wards. It is not sentiment so much as self-interest which impels me to suggest that there should be loud and insistent popular clamor for the immediate resignation of Grover Whalen. It is rather fortunate that one of the victims of the police delirium turned out to be a respectable business man having no connection whatsoever with the Communist Party. Solid and conservative citizens have been disposed in the past to take police outrages too calmly. If the victims were radicals or gangsters or suspected criminals many have said: "Maybe it wasn't legal, but after all they had it coming to them." It is well to bear in mind that once power gets on a rampage there is no telling just where it will stop.

If conservatives were wise they would be the most passionate defenders of civil liberties. After all, it is the standpatter who has the biggest stake in the preservation of things as they are. It really is up to him to see that matters move smoothly. For instance, the New York *Times* should ring each day with editorial denunciation of police and mob violence against I.W.W.'s, Communists, and the various sects which are preyed upon by the lawless elements of American communities. The Communist who is clubbed may carry round a painful injury. He may well bear the fierce personal animosity of anyone who is put upon without good reason. But there is a singing in his heart as well as his head. After all he has managed to build up a case for his cause.

The logic of the police seems even weaker than their courage. It has been the Communist custom to refer to the members of the force as "Whalen's Cossacks," and the police seem to feel that they have wiped out that stigma by clubbing women and charging crowds with men on horses. I must admit that the Communists have all the better of the argument. They have gone at least a considerable distance in proving their case as far as New York police are concerned.

And so I do not think that the fight against such outrages should be left in the hands of Socialists or even liberals. After all, the people in these groups have never contended that the United States of Mr. Hoover was practically Utopia. They have admitted that here and there change of one sort or another might be essential in the governmental structure, both federal and local. The ones to do the worrying are the leaders of the groups in power.

I do not quite believe the complaint of the left wingers that incidents such as the recent riot in City Hall Park are all a part of a capitalistic plot. It would amaze me to hear that any Rockefeller or Morgan had 'phoned to police headquarters saying, "There will be red speeches on the steps this noon. Please get rough and club every head in sight." There must be more acumen than that among the captains of industry and finance. And still I must admit that many of them do not seem quite bright. Consider, for instance, the right of free speech. Here in America the defenders of it are almost always tabulated as radicals and enemies of the existing order. The Civil Liberties Union, for instance, has often been attacked by red-baiters and been charged with receiving support from Russia. But, as a matter of fact, the extreme radical has no great interest in free speech. He is apt to class it as a luxury belonging only to the secure and sentimental. The Soviets have never scrupled to suppress the right at times when it interfered with what they felt was a vital program.

Who then should adopt the orphan? Free speech has been largely nourished in this country by the liberals. But it seems to me that the child really ought to find a good home among the conservatives. Men who sweat at night about red and Russian plots surely should have sense enough to desire the fullest possible information about the plans and theories of all who would overthrow the government. I would not walk across a wide street to hear the average run of Communist oratory. I happen to be not specially inimical to the present system though I would much enjoy putting a new girder in here and there. But if the whole thing were to be uprooted I should not suffer much in any material way. Even if confiscation of private property set in the state would take only one of my suits and leave the other. I could afford to be rather apathetic about free speech and the dangers which arise from its suppression. When my millions are made I shall feel much more urge to be up and doing in the protection of those rights assured by the Constitution. If there were in some vault a box of mine filled with gilt-edged securities I would make it my business to pay close attention to every Communist argument so that I might controvert and answer it. Far from chasing reds off the steps of City Hall I'd build them a speaker's platform and say: "Come every morning, friends, and talk your heads off. And come in numbers so that I can watch you."

Most of the agitation for an investigation of the recent police panic rests upon the advice that individual offenders be punished. Is it so soon forgotten that Grover Whalen himself proclaimed the doctrine: "There's a lot of law at the end of a nightstick"? His rash words have come home to roost. He ought to go. Conservatives really can't afford to have such an effective propagandist for communism holding high office.

HEYWOOD BROUN

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Naval Politics at London

By NORMAN ANGELL

London, January 14

THE British situation on the eve of the conference is an interesting and unusual one. One might have anticipated cries from the Conservative element of the Opposition to the effect that the defenses of the country were being endangered by the Labor Government. The issue is over the question of the battleship. The public seems to have seized pretty clearly the point that if there is to be any real reduction of armaments at all as the result of this conference, of a kind, that is, which will relieve the taxpayer or achieve a general appeasement of fears, then it can only come about through the virtual abolition of the big fighting ship, either by immediate scrapping, which is rather too much to hope, or by an agreement not to replace ships over 10,000 tons when their normal term of life expires. The support for this campaign comes to an amazing degree from Conservative quarters: the London *Times,* the *Spectator,* Mr. Garvin in the *Observer,* and even in some degree from the Beaverbrook and Rothermere press. The very admirals themselves have in some measure joined in the campaign. Admiral Sir Charles Richmond, admittedly one of the ablest minds of the navy, has been writing a series of cogent and forceful articles, stressing the technical absurdity of these monsters; and making it perfectly clear that they are not a type of ship which has any "police" justification such as can be pleaded for the smaller type of cruiser; and that the only reason for their existence is that other nations possess them.

Thus the Government, with strong pacifist leanings, is assured beforehand of a large amount of Conservative support in a real measure of disarmament. Certainly any general opposition in public opinion could be discounted beforehand. Yet, say the critics, far from moving to the abolition of the battleship, the First Lord of the Admiralty has issued a statement to the effect that battleships will certainly be replaced, and all he will permit himself to hope is that the new type of battleships will be less expensive than the old. The Government, then, is being criticized for not giving a lead to public sentiment. It is even charged that its position is less advanced than that taken by the Conservative Opposition.*

What is the explanation of this situation, so disappointing to friends of the present Government on both sides of the Atlantic? Assuredly "there's a reason," and no criticism is valid which does not take it into account. The reasons may well include those which, for the sake of international good feeling and political propriety, a government cannot state publicly, reasons at which consequently one is obliged to guess.

First, a government would place itself in a bad bargaining position by committing itself beforehand to a step like the abolition of the battleship. It may be that the Government is holding this concession in reserve as a bargaining counter, to be used as a lever with, say, France in the matter of the submarine. The Government may desire to be in a position, that is, to say to France: "Abolish your submarines and we will abolish our battleships." If the British Government were committed beforehand to battleship abolition, it would have surrendered this bargaining power. One may question the wisdom of that line of approach at this time, but the consideration may have weight. Furthermore, to an increasing degree it is becoming recognized that the political situation will be the determining factor of any real progress which is to be made.

There is a point in the statement of the First Lord the significance of which seems to have been overlooked. Very adroitly he has considerably modified, if indeed he has not entirely abandoned, the British doctrine of "absolute requirements." All along, the British Government has taken the line that British naval needs, particularly in cruisers, are absolute, not relative to the strength of other powers; that they are dictated by such constant factors as geographical position, amount of mercantile marine, length of lines of economic communication, and the rest of it. What America or other Powers were doing was, it was argued, of little concern to Britain and did not affect the problem. Such has been the formal thesis heretofore, but Mr. Alexander, the Labor First Lord, had to explain why Britain was demanding seventy cruisers in 1927 and fifty today. The explanation is, he says, that "we have to take account of the new position which has arisen through the signature of the pact of Paris by most of the nations, including all the major naval Powers . . . and improved world-political relationships." In other words, even in cruisers the need is determined by the political situation, by what other nations are doing. And if the political consideration applies to cruisers, it may be employed, as the *Times* points out, more cogently still "to justify a proposal to abolish battleships."

It is to be hoped that the recognition of the plain truth that the whole problem of disarmament is in large part a political one will cause the Admiralty to play a more subordinate role than it did in 1927. In so far as the problem is political, the admiral has no authority to speak as an expert or specialist. He may speak with authority upon guns, tonage, armor-plate. But these, after all, are subsidiary problems. What is more important is the real significance and implication of the Paris pact, the League, the Covenant, the various treaties of guaranty, the future relationships of Britain with America and France—problems of political psychology and judgment for which, plainly, admirals as admirals have no more qualification to speak than upon football or Gilbert and Sullivan operas. It is to be hoped that public opinion in Britain will seize this point because, in the past, it has sufficed for a government to explain its reactionary attitude at a conference by saying: "We were guided by expert advice and could not fly in the face of Admiralty opinion."

* In cable advices received subsequent to the mailing of this article Mr. Angell points out that the situation has been materially changed by the later pronouncement of Prime Minister MacDonald which indicates a greater readiness to take decided steps toward disarmament than had been suggested by recent Government outgivings.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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The French memorandum, which seems to have created more uneasiness in America than in Britain, emphasizes the political side of the problem even more than the British statesmen have done so far. The French politics may be bad politics, but it is all to the good perhaps to have it brought home to us that the problem is first and foremost a political one, and that the technical question cannot be answered save on some political assumption. To answer the question, Are we adequately armed? we must know who the enemy is likely to be, who are our allies. Until we can make some assumption on that point, plainly the technician has nothing to go upon. In the absence of a definite political starting-point he is obliged to assume the political worst and to make his technical recommendations in accordance with that assumption.

The political problem at present is mainly one of Anglo-French relations. Lurking in the minds of so many of the French is the fear of Germany's ultimate challenge to the Versailles settlement. Germany grows; France does not. The present British Government has destroyed the last shreds of the entente cordiale. Does this mean, ask the French in effect, that perfidious Albion is going back on her undertaking to throw her influence against any disturbance by war of the status quo? Are such commitments as the Covenant embodies to fade away and be replaced by the more non-committal Kellogg pact? The Anglo-American rapprochement might give color to such a supposition. Thus the insistence in the French memorandum that France bases her position on the Covenant and not on the pact. It is pretty certain that the conference will be reminded again and again of this interdependence of politics and disarmament. France cannot, in so doing, be accused of inconsistency, since that is the position she has taken in every conference she has entered.

The Christian Science Censor

I. The Machinery of Suppression*

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

THE best-oiled and smoothest-running publicity (and anti-publicity) machine operated in the United States during the twentieth century has been that controlled by the Board of Directors of the Mother Church, the First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. It consists of a head publicity man (called the Committee on Publication) in Boston, a publicity man (likewise called the Committee on Publication) in each State, with two for California, and local publicity men (each called the Assistant Committee on Publication) in all the cities and towns where there are Christian Science churches. Each committee, be it noted, is an individual. No divided responsibility in Christian Science publicity. Back of these committees stands a little Gideon's band of about two hundred thousand loyal, enthusiastic, well-disciplined, and well-to-do Christian Scientists, on whom the committees never call in vain.

Acting through these agencies, the directors have in recent years reduced unfavorable publicity to almost nothing, at the same time that they have secured columns and pages of free space for their lectures and other means of spreading their gospel. They have excluded the advertising of rival groups of Christian Scientists from the press in some sections of the country, and have shut those rivals off from the channels of radio communication. They have prevented the publication of books and articles reflecting unfavorably on Christian Science and its Founder (to follow their own capitalization), and have caused to be withdrawn from circulation or have buried under a mountain of oblivion those whose publication they could not prevent. They have persuaded or forced educational authorities to withdraw from use in the public schools textbooks to which they objected, and by discreet representations they have even brought about changes in the books used in universities. They have driven out of public libraries or have had placed on reserve shelves inaccessible to the public books that they did not like. They have employed against publishers and bookstores that handle such books the method of persuasion, followed, if need be, by intimidation, and then local and nation-wide boycott. They have held over newspaper publishers the danger of advertising and other losses until they have reduced large sections of the press to a state of abject subjection; the Chicago *Tribune,* for example, did not get up its courage so far even as to publish a review of Dakin's recent life of Mrs. Eddy for months after its publication, and until the publishers' courageous fight had made it impolitic to neglect it longer. They have watched legislation in Congress and in all the States with the eyes of hawks, not only preventing the enactment of measures of health protection which they thought unfavorable to their cult, but pushing for laws that they desired, and in the State of Illinois, for example, securing the passage of the first law against slander by radio, with the avowed purpose of preventing the radio from being used to oppose Christian Science. The Christian Science Board of Directors had discovered and exploited to the full the possibilities of publicity and suppression long before such an animal as a public-relations counsel existed. The success of their publicity machine is another tribute to the genius of the extraordinary woman who planned this as well as all other features of the Christian Science organization, and whose word is still law in that church, though nearly twenty years have passed since her death, if we may be permitted to use that word in connection with her.

I have said that the Christian Scientists have the best publicity machine in the country. Particularly as an engine of suppression, there is nothing to be compared with it for effectiveness, taking everything into account. When

* This is the first of a series of four articles. The second article, Obnoxious Books, will appear next week.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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Charles Scribner's Sons in August brought out Edwin Franden Dakin's "Mrs. Eddy. The Biography of a Virginal Mind" they ran head on into that machine, and the machine undertook to ride them down, as it had done all too often with others who had challenged it. Happily, the publishers' sturdy fight has aroused public attention in an increasing degree, the press apparently is getting up its courage in some measure, and there is reasonable ground to hope that we may see the lid pried off. A new book dealing with Mrs. Eddy's life and belief, by H. A. L. Fisher, has appeared in England, and three books concerned at least in part with that remarkable woman are announced for early publication here. If the Christian Science publication committees are to smother all these publications, they are likely to have their hands full. But in any case, it is full time for an examination of their methods of controlling public opinion. A little group of men whose direct adherents at their most numerous have counted less than two-tenths of 1 per cent of the people of the country have been able for a quarter of a century to suppress substantially all unfavorable truth regarding Mary Baker Eddy and the religion that she founded. Why? How? Their own answer is simple and, I doubt not, genuine: They have the truth, and their critics have nothing but error. Their answer is at least a partial explanation of their success. Denying the validity of what most of us regard as evidence, they can devote themselves in all good conscience to the suppression of our truth because they honestly believe that it is error. In this particular it may be said of the great body of Christian Scientists that in a very literal sense their strength is as the strength of ten because their heart is pure.

Most people hold absurdly exaggerated ideas of the number of Christian Scientists in the country. Mrs. Eddy herself sometimes spoke, and her followers not infrequently speak, doubtless in entire good faith, of the "millions" of adherents of their religion, and the rest of the world have been inclined to take them at their own valuation—or numeration. Before doing so, however, the rest of us might do well to examine Article VIII, Section 28, of the church by-laws, which reads: "Christian Scientists shall not report for publication the number of members of the Mother Church, nor that of the branch churches. According to the Scriptures they shall turn away from numbering the people." Mrs. Eddy had an incorrigible aversion to uncontrolled publicity, of which the above by-law is but one among many interesting expressions. Uncle Sam, however, perhaps unfortunately, is no respecter of church by-laws, so he counts Christian Science noses just as irreverently as he counts Jewish, Presbyterian, or Roman Catholic ones. The Census of Religious Bodies of 1926 reports a total membership of 202,098 in the 1,913 Christian Science churches of the country. For every Christian Scientist in the United States there are 20 Jews, 9 Presbyterians, 92 Roman Catholics; yet I venture the assertion that in the smothering field the 1 Christian Scientist has done vastly more than all the 121 others put together.

Now for the actual structure of the machine. Mrs. Eddy made of her church itself a completely centralized organization, in which her power was far more absolute than that of the Pope. All power is concentrated in the Mother Church, in Boston, and Christian Science churches all over the country are simply branches of that organization. The business of the Mother Church, according to the by-laws, is to be transacted by a self-perpetuating board of directors of five members, originally appointed by Mrs. Eddy, and during her lifetime removable by her. Since her death in 1910 they have become the ultimate source of power with the right to dismiss all officers (Article XXII, Section 3) and with authority over all the activities of the church, including the work of the committees on publication. Their absolute power is exercised without publicity, for according to Article I, Section 5, of the by-laws "members shall neither report the discussions of the Board, nor those with Mrs. Eddy." In studying church publicity, this centralization must always be remembered.

Article XXXIII of the by-laws deals entirely with the Committee on Publication. The Mother Church (that is, the Board of Directors) appoints a Committee on Publication, "which shall consist of one loyal Christian Scientist who lives in Boston, and he shall be the manager of the Committees on Publication throughout the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and Ireland." During the decade and a half in which he held this responsible and powerful office Judge Clifford P. Smith really made it the most important position in the whole organization, making of the Board of Directors, which is legally the source of authority, actually a body that in large part contents itself with ratifying the proceedings of its more able and active agent. Judge Smith has now resigned to become editor of the Christian Science publications, and has been succeeded by C. Augustus Norwood, a kind and friendly person who also bears the title of general counsel to the church. Judge Smith's grip on the organization, however, is in no way weakened by the new arrangement.

Under the by-laws the Readers of the three largest branch churches in each State annually appoint in turn a Committee on Publication (consisting, it will be remembered, of one individual), California being divided into two parts. There are thus forty-nine State committees, in addition to the committees for the Territories, the District of Columbia, and foreign countries, all working under the direction of the general manager in Boston. The assistant committees (individuals), locally chosen but ratified from above, in turn work under the State committees. The general manager may order no special action not named in the Manual (by-laws) of the church to be taken without consulting the Board of Directors and receiving their written consent. The Board of Directors may remove the Committee on Publication of any branch church and name his successor, and it is the duty of the church to elect the person so named. The absolute centralization of power in the hands of the general manager and the Board of Directors is apparent. With her usual shrewdness, Mrs. Eddy provided that the committees on publication shall generally be men, but that if there is no suitable man, then a woman may be chosen. In fact, there are a number of women acting in this capacity.

It is the duty of the Committee on Publication "to correct in a Christian manner impositions on the public in regard to Christian Science, injustices done Mrs. Eddy or members of this church by the daily press, by periodicals, or circulated literature of any sort." He is to correct any false newspaper article, and if the correction is not promptly published by the offending periodical, then "this Com-

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mittee shall immediately apply for aid to the Committee on Business," of which more in a moment. Nothing could be more innocent, and indeed laudable, than the purposes of the Committee on Publication; but nothing could be farther from these purposes than much of the actual work done by the central, State, and local committees, and by loyal members of the church working under their direction.

Returning to the Committee on Business, we encounter some of the black magic of the organization. It is a group of "mental workers" whose business it is to make the offending editor think the right thoughts. The Board of Directors have a group of these workers, who were formerly paid $50 a month, whose duty it is to "take up mentally" persons who are obstructing the will of the church. Some four years ago William U. Swan, a member of the church who was threatened with severe discipline, applied to the courts to restrain the directors. In the course of the resulting suit, James A. Neal, one of the directors, testified that this committee was in reality a group of mental workers subject to the Board of Directors and employed to work under their instructions for or against persons. When it became evident that counsel for Swan was going to bring out much evidence about the activities of such workers, and to compel the production of the books showing large payments made to them, the directors secured an adjournment, settled with Swan outside of court, withdrew their charges, and reinstated him as a member in good standing, rather than let these facts become public. The full story of the Committee on Business would make a book in itself.

Our immediate concern, however, is with the committees on publication. Judge Smith has been able, it will be observed, to pick his State committees, and they in turn to secure the appointment of others of their own kind in the cities and towns. The favor of the Board of Directors means prestige and dollars to all those who teach and practice Christian Science; their disfavor, not only loss of standing, but actual inability to make a living. Loyalty to Judge Smith and the directors has therefore been loyalty to oneself and one's pocketbook, and the organization has thus become ironclad. The committees and assistant committees of the country, meeting in Boston in 1921, reverently restated their clear conviction of Mrs. Eddy's divine inspiration and direction, and quoted with approval her words: "Eternity awaits our Church Manual, which will maintain its rank as in the past, amid ministries aggressive and active, and will stand when these have passed to rest." This done, they highly resolved as follows:

> Therefore be it resolved that we do hereby reaffirm our unwavering loyalty to and support of the Mother Church and to the Christian Science Board of Directors, who are specifically instructed by our wise Leader with the task of upholding and enforcing the inviolable rules of the Manual, in which worthy work they are entitled to receive and are receiving the wholehearted support of loyal Christian Scientists.

The inviolable rules of the Manual, which are to last to eternity, require each member to reflect "the sweet amenities of love," to be alert "to defend himself daily against agressive mental suggestion," "not intentionally or knowingly mentally" to "malpractice," not to "haunt Mrs. Eddy's drive when she goes out, continually stroll by her house, or make a summer resort near her for such a purpose," to "strive to promote the welfare of all mankind by demonstrating the rules of divine Love," and finally to "subscribe for the periodicals which are the organs of this Church." I have set down bits of this extraordinary hodge-podge, not for purposes of ridicule, but simply to illustrate the remarkable loyalty and the strange frame of mind that must characterize a body of persons who can accept such a diversity of rules as of equal authority and inspiration. And now I set down in that same category of everlasting rules of absolutely binding character the celebrated Article VIII, Section 12, of the Manual:

> A member of this church shall not patronize a publishing house or bookstore that has for sale obnoxious books.

The publicity organization of the Christian Science church is completely centralized and completely under the control of one man who is in daily contact with its most distant outposts. It is backed by a body of believers who do not discriminate sharply between their religion and their organization. This combination of organization and support, under a body of rules such as I have illustrated, produces a machine of unbelievable effectiveness. In the next article we shall examine its actual working.

"Cash and Carry" Life Insurance

By EDWIN S. SMITH

LIFE INSURANCE in America has passed the hundred-billion mark. This event is receiving the applause which Americans are always ready to give to evidences of their giantism. That it is an achievement and a milestone on the road to economic security, no one would deny, but let us at the same time not forget that commercial life insurance has still a few blots on its escutcheon.

The Nation, in its editorial of October 9, amid the salvos in honor of the insurance companies, took a well-directed shot at the present status of industrial or weekly-payment insurance. This instalment insurance is the only form of insurance protection which our working people, generally speaking, enjoy. It is an extremely cumbersome and expensive device for both the companies and the insured. The number of lapses on policies is terrific. In 1928 it amounted to the equivalent of 60 per cent of the number of policies written that year. Nor does the insured who allows his policy to lapse get any return for what he has expended unless he had paid premiums for at least three years.

In 1908 the status of industrial insurance was even less promising. In that year the Massachusetts Legislature passed a law permitting savings banks to write life-insurance policies and old-age annuities. This plan originated with Louis D. Brandeis, then a practicing lawyer in Boston, who had undergone a baptism of fire on the subject of insurance in the investigation of certain scandalous practices of life-insurance companies, practices now happily abandoned. Since the enormous expense of weekly-payment insurance lies in the cost of soliciting and of collections, Massachusetts provided that no agents should be employed by the banks. If

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a man wanted insurance, he had to come of his own free will to the savings bank to get it. In other words, this was insurance on the "cash-and-carry" principle, later widely exploited by the chain stores on other kinds of merchandise.

The results of the system in Massachusetts may be briefly told. On September 30, 1929, more than 80,000 policies were in force, totaling $67,000,000. Thanks in large part to the elimination of soliciting by agents, any insurable person who is a resident of Massachusetts can get straight life insurance through a savings bank at a rate about 26 per cent cheaper than the rate charged by commercial companies for ordinary life policies, and at half the cost of "weekly-payment" insurance. There is no elaborate paraphernalia of collection, yet the number of savings-bank insurance policies allowed to lapse amounts to less than 1 per cent of those written! Truly a remarkable figure when placed against the lapse rate of commercial companies. The answer is simple. The insurance costs less, there is a surrender value on every policy after premiums have been paid for six months, and the insured are those who want insurance protection enough to seek it. The over-zealous agent who sweeps the workingman or girl into an insurance policy which he or she cannot afford to carry is happily not in the savings-bank insurance picture.

Not the least interesting feature of savings-bank insurance to the workingman is the reasonable rate at which he can purchase an old-age annuity. The increasing tendency of industry to slough off its older workers in favor of young blood makes the problem of annuities increasingly important. A typical annuity arrangement under savings-bank insurance is as follows:

> Beginning at age 30, a man deposits $10.70 a month, and continues this deposit during thirty-five years, that is, until he reaches age 65, at which time he ceases to make deposits. The banks then begin to pay to him an annuity of $1,000 a year, this payment to continue as long as he shall live. It will be observed that during the thirty-five years his total deposits have aggregated $4,494. It is estimated that he will have received dividends back amounting to about $630, so that his life income of $1,000 a year has cost him net only about $3,864.

For years the growth of savings-bank insurance as measured by the number of banks operating insurance departments was slow. In 1912 four banks had insurance departments and there were no additions until 1923, when two more came in. In 1928 the number was ten. During 1929 there have been three further additions. One of these is the Boston Five Cents Savings Bank, the largest savings bank in the State. Another Boston bank joined the ranks in October, making a total of three banks in Boston and ten scattered through the State. In addition to the banks writing insurance there are over a hundred banks which act as agents to receive applications for insurance, which is placed with banks that operate insurance departments.

The probable reason why the banks are becoming more enthusiastic about insurance is an interesting footnote to economic history. Economic systems, like other things, progress by accident as well as design. The last few years have given the trustees of savings banks some cause for worry. Deposits have been growing slowly. Increased spending by workers and the lure of the speculative market are perhaps the causes. During the nine months ending July 31, 1929, the percentage of withdrawals of deposits in the 196 Massachusetts savings banks was very much larger than for the year ended October 31, 1928. The amount on deposit (including interest credited) increased during these months only 2.99 per cent. Deposits made between November 1, 1927, and October 31, 1928, aggregated $417,615,555; but at the end of twelve months the net increase in the amount due depositors was only $135,342,767, equivalent to 32.4 per cent of the new money deposited during that period. Although savings banks are not organized for profit and the motives which prompt individuals to become trustees of these institutions are largely social, naturally the trustees take pride in having the banks move forward. On looking up the record of the banks which have operated insurance departments, they find life-insurance money tells quite a different story from ordinary savings deposits.

The insurance department of the North End Savings Bank received during three years premiums amounting to $166,867.47. At the end of the third year, with all expenses paid, all death claims settled, and a substantial sum set aside for dividends to policy-holders, it held in the insurance reserve and surplus $139,704. In other words, it retained in its possession for the purpose of investment a sum equal to 83.7 per cent of the premiums received during the entire period. Similar figures for the Lynn Institute for Savings after six years writing of life insurance show a total of premiums paid in of $584,154. The insurance reserve and surplus at the end of six years was $410,219 or 70.2 per cent of the premiums paid in. Savings banks enjoy a vastly greater stability from their funds received through insurance writing than from deposits.

As yet the dollars-and-cents accomplishments of savings-bank insurance need cause the commercial companies no great alarm. In 1928 the amount of savings-bank insurance written in Massachusetts was 1.56 per cent of the total amount written in the State in that year. Of the total premiums paid for insurance by Massachusetts people in 1928 the insurance departments of the savings banks received 1.27 per cent. A system which can write ordinary life insurance 26 per cent more cheaply is competition worth thinking about. Even if the companies themselves were inclined to discount the importance of savings-bank insurance, the insurance agents are unlikely to do so. Life insurance agents constitute a powerful economic group quite capable of making itself politically effective. Opponents of savings-bank insurance introduced a bill in the legislature during 1929 providing that the total amount of such insurance which an individual could carry should be $5,000. The bill was defeated, but it took work to do it.

The roster of savings-bank trusteeships always embraces important men in the community. Among their number are directors of insurance companies and also of commercial banks, between which and insurance companies there is, for various reasons, bound to be a friendly feeling. How far this influence will tend to slow up the growth of savings-bank insurance is hard to say. There is certainly encouragement in the fact that the Boston Five Cents Savings Bank, which has a board of trustees particularly well endowed with bank and insurance company directors, has entered the ranks.

Modestly but effectively, savings-bank insurance goes marching on. It is not in the least daunted because commercial life insurance is entering upon its second hundred billion.

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In the Driftway

AS his readers know, the Drifter is a great believer in color. He is devoted to neckties which conservative dressers class as "loud," and the last comment which he wants anybody to make when he indulges in a new suit of clothes is that it is "genteel." The Drifter does not wish to dress genteelly; he wishes to encourage if not compel people to turn and look back at him. Otherwise why bother to dress at all? Though, come to think of it, a failure to dress in any way might lead to most attention of all. The Drifter is on record as approving of the dyeing of one's hair when another tint than that granted by nature appeals to one as more becoming or beautiful. Nor should one be limited to the shades supplied in the not too-generous or imaginative original plan. The Drifter thinks that hair of emerald, heliotrope, or carnation would be an excellent innovation. So, of course, he is all in favor of the colored sidewalks recently laid in New Orleans—provided that the colors and designs are harmonious and beautiful. The colored sidewalks, so one gathers from newspaper accounts, were lately introduced on a couple of streets at the suggestion of a neighborhood improvement association, the president of which argued, reasonably enough, that since gay colors were in vogue for roofs they might also be used with benefit in sidewalks. Red and green were the colors selected, but even these old and conservative hues failed to win the approbation of all the citizenry. A local attorney, for instance, was moved to write to the president of the neighborhood improvement association as follows:

> I not only concede but proclaim the good work of yourself and your associates in beautifying the city. However, I think even you, who appear to revel in red, pink, blue, and lavender roofs, will come to realize the ugliness, incongruity, and bizarrerie of green and red as applied to sidewalks, and I predict you will some day regret the price you have paid for your advertising.
>
> You and your associates could have got your street talked about quite as much had you placed well-trained monkeys at strategic intervals along the thoroughfares—with the added advantage that the monkeys would sooner or later die.

* * * * *

BUT generally speaking the tendency toward using more color to brighten up and make gayer this drab old world is spreading so rapidly that it no longer needs champions. Rainy days have been much less gloomy since women took to carrying cheerfully colored umbrellas, and it seems impossible to put out any shades in women's dresses too vivid to be popular. The brilliant scarlet confections of the present winter make even the most pessimistic of us want to live through to another spring. Decidedly the Scarlet Woman is the success of the season. In architecture color has been seeping in for a number of years. Though no American town has yet adopted to any large extent the gaily calcimined walls and brilliant roofs of various oriental, tropical, and Latin cities, the use of bright-colored brick and tiling—sometimes in good and sometimes in execrable taste—has grown so common that no one should object when New Orleans goes a step further and lays red and green sidewalks.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Degrees and Wealth

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: General Jan Christiaan Smuts made many interesting observations in accepting the LL.D. conferred on him by Johns Hopkins University on January 16. But perhaps the most trenchant remark uttered on this occasion came from a mere undergraduate observer of the ceremonies. Amid hosts of trustees, faculty, and other persons generally supposed to inspire awe in youthful imbibers at our founts of knowledge, this unawed youth, apparently deeming explanation of his presence necessary, remarked: "What we students are here for is to see a man without money get an honorary degree."

Baltimore, January 20 EDGAR WILLIAMS

The Archbishop's Automobile

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I know that it is your custom to select from letters sent to you for publication such as seem to you the most important or interesting. I cannot understand therefore your selection of the letter headed And There You Are! in your issue of January 15. I hold no brief for Archbishop Mundelein or the Catholic church, and I thoroughly disagree with that church's position on birth control as well as on some other matters, but I nevertheless fail to see the justification for personal flings at the archbishop or why a letter of that kind should be given preference over all that went into the waste-basket unless these were even worse. It goes to show that not even *The Nation* may be trusted to take on the functions of a censor.

If the worst that can be said about Archbishop Mundelein is that he owns a $14,000 automobile, then I question the propriety of any *Nation* reader throwing stones at him. Whenever any prelate takes a stand on public matters that calls for a reply, let his statements be treated as those of any other man without bringing in irrelevant matters such as his ecclesiastical position. This seems to be a very hard thing for some who call themselves liberals to grasp.

Baltimore, January 13 SAMUEL DANZIGER

Idealistic Perversity

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The idealistic perversity of your editorial on the League of Nations fills me with despair. The League, we are told, has "permitted" this, and "been silent and complaisant" in the face of that. One might suppose that the League was a body quite separate from the nations of the world rather than a piece of machinery for facilitating such cooperation as their isolationist prejudices permit them to undertake. But for the evil influence of the League, one might judge from the tone of your article, such pacifists as Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Poincaré, and other leading statesmen would have realized long ago their dream of a united world at peace and disarmed.

As for the Treaty of Versailles, Article XIX of the Covenant is the only international instrument specifically suggesting and providing machinery for the revision of treaties which need revision. How else do you propose to revise treaties? This

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is a practical question, and *The Nation* does not presumably advocate the traditional method of war. Or is it peace, but peace with honor, which you now espouse? After all, the League, as such, does nothing to discourage revision except revision by force.

Surely clear-headed opposition to the League must take the form of saying either (1) that international machinery (as distinct from pacts and other pious gestures) is undesirable per se, or (2) that this particular machinery is radically defective. And it would only be reasonable to indict the machinery if good results could not be achieved even when those using it sincerely desired to achieve them. The so-called failures of the League are failures of governments which would have been no less surely in office if there had been no League, and of peoples who have failed to learn the plain lessons of the war. Its successes are largely pieces of international cooperation which could hardly have been initiated and carried through but for the organization and machinery which have been created in Geneva. It is a piece of machinery whose effectiveness is very greatly impaired by the absence of the United States, but, as your last paragraph so delightfully suggests, no doubt the time will come when the good little American boys will be able to say to the naughty little European boys, "Now that you have learnt to play nicely, we will come and play with you."

Oak Lane, Pa., January 11 W. B. Curry

Nation Dinner

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The second annual dinner of the Nation Club of San Francisco will be held on Tuesday evening, February 11, at the Fior d' Italia Restaurant, 492 Broadway, San Francisco. Dr. Stanley Rypins will preside.

Those wishing reservations will kindly get in touch with Sophie Greenburg, 775 Guerrero Street, San Francisco.

San Francisco, January 20 Sophie Greenburg

Contributors to This Issue

Norman Angell, author of "The Great Illusion" and editor of *Foreign Affairs*, is a Labor member of Parliament.

Henry Raymond Mussey is managing editor of *The Nation*.

Edwin S. Smith is a Boston business executive who has given special attention to the working of savings-bank insurance.

Corinna Reiman Marsh has contributed verse to various periodicals.

Henry Hazlitt is literary editor of *The Nation*.

Lorine Pruette is the author of "Women and Leisure: A Study in Social Waste."

William MacDonald is a regular contributor of historical and political reviews to *The Nation*.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton is Kenan Professor of History and Government at the University of North Carolina.

Joshua Kunitz is author of "Russian Literature and the Jew."

William Seagle is an assistant editor of the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences.

Alexander Bakshy, author of several books on the theater, writes on motion pictures for *The Nation*.

Joseph Wood Krutch is dramatic editor of *The Nation*.

AFTER MOTHER INDIA

Harry H. Field

Mr. Field, Miss Mayo—and Mr. Gandhi

"Mr. Field keeps his heavy guns for those who have tried to controvert Miss Mayo's facts," says Lord Meston in the London *Spectator*. "Mr. Gandhi heads the list. He questioned the accuracy of Miss Mayo's account of her interview with him. Mr. Field produces the summary of the interview recorded on the spot, typed immediately, edited and passed by Mr. Gandhi himself."

"Out of their own mouths," says the Melbourne *Herald*, "he condemns them. Mr. Gandhi is a case in point."

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Books, Films, Drama

Fulfilment

By CORINNA REIMAN MARSH

Racked, the ample-bosomed hill
Bears a lusty tree,
Wearing, like a crown of peace,
Her maternity.

Wonder-bound, she cradles him
On her velvet lap,
Rich with dreams of springing boughs
And of leaping sap.

At her womb, her breast, he pulls
With insatiate roots;
Hers the honey and the wine
Mellowing his fruits.

The Pioneer Soul

Australia Felix. By Henry Handel Richardson. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

AS a small edition was published here in 1917 under the title of "The Fortunes of Richard Mahony," "Australia Felix" is not, strictly speaking, a new book. But it can be discussed as a new book, for on its appearance a dozen years ago it was almost completely ignored, in England as well as here, both by critical opinion and by the reading public. It was not until the publication last fall of "Ultima Thule," the final volume of the trilogy of which "Australia Felix" is the first, that Henry Handel Richardson came into genuine prominence.

"Australia Felix" opens at the time of the gold rush of the fifties, and we meet Richard Mahony at twenty-seven as the keeper of a general store at Ballarat. It is a more normal Richard than we find in "Ultima Thule," but with the germs of all the qualities that are later to become more pronounced—serious, with little exuberance or play in his make-up, sensitive, stand-offish, restless, impractical, almost fanatically honest and candid, and though fundamentally generous and tender in his instincts, subject to fits of unreasoning irritability; he is blunt, often tactless, and quick to resent fancied slights. He marries his Mary when she is only sixteen. Partly because of a general slackness in his part of the town, partly because of the resentment he has aroused for his outspoken opposition to the diggers' rebellion, trade at his little store begins to fall off. He is finally forced to abandon the store and try a resumption of medical practice. He moves to the west part of the town, where his practice grows. Induced by his lawyer to speculate in some mining shares, he wins an amount that immediately puts him into comfortable circumstances. But his betrayal by his friend Purdy, his quarrel with his most important patient, and a series of his own illnesses combine to unsettle him; his practice dwindles; and over Mary's protests he tears up his Australian roots and takes her with him back to England.

In so brief a summary the story seems flat and colorless. Yet even more than in "Ultima Thule," one is impressed by the richness and sweep of this novel. The many-sidedness of a man's life is presented with great skill. Surprisingly little attention is given either to romantic love or to the "sexual problem." This is surely not the result of any squeamishness; it springs partly from the character of the protagonist, but perhaps more from the fact that the woman who writes under the name of Henry Handel Richardson recognizes the absurd extent to which the overwhelming bulk of fiction overemphasizes the role that sex—in the average novelist's sense—plays in the totality of our lives. She has an uncanny capacity, too, for dramatizing those day-to-day events which most novelists instinctively dismiss as too prosaic for detailed discussion; she enlists our interest powerfully, for example, not merely in Richard's recurrent financial difficulties considered as a whole, but in the most detailed elements of them. Not least of the novel's merits, considering "Australia Felix" and "Ultima Thule" together, is the subtlety with which it portrays the development of the characters of Richard and Mary and the change in their relationship.

Yet I confess that "Australia Felix" interests me mainly as a portrait of the pioneer—of his courage, hardihood, enterprise, his generosity and gambling instinct, his easy camaraderie and democracy, his restlessness, his tendency to regard his present location, way of life, and living quarters as temporary, and hence his insensibility to the ugliness and makeshift character of his surroundings; above all, of the dominant materialism of his ambitions, with nearly all cultural interests squeezed out by the pursuit of sudden wealth.

The book was undoubtedly to a large extent intended as precisely such a study. It is no accident that Richard, sensitive, reserved, cultured, impractical, and idealistic, forms so sharp a contrast to the typical pioneer, and that so much of early Australia is revealed through his eyes. Though this picture happens to be of the Australian gold rush of the fifties, it would serve almost as well as a picture of the fifties in California, or of all the early oil and mining towns of the Southwest. More than that: it helps us to see with renewed insight how deeply the outlook of the pioneer still colors our own national life. It is reflected still in our mere physical aspect, so that to the cultured European eye our architectural landscape wears a provisional, jerry-built, and impermanent air; and it remains, of course, in full flower in our glorification of business and material progress.

HENRY HAZLITT

A Happy Scholar

Memories of My Life. By Edward Westermarck. The Macaulay Company. $5.

FEW autobiographies are introduced more mildly than these recollections of the famous anthropologist, who while suggesting that it may seem presumptuous to offer to the public such memories, takes comfort in the thought that he himself has always had a predilection for autobiographical sketches, even when of only slight significance in themselves. But memories which show the genesis and development of such important works as "The History of Human Marriage" and "The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas" cannot be insignificant. In "Memories of My Life" Westermarck gives a clear and charming picture of the simple, joyful life open to the true scholar today. He has devoted a long life to research into the folkways and mores of mankind, and it appears certain that he finds no cause to regret this early dedication. The quiet note of happiness struck in his autobiography makes a heartening sound in the midst of contemporary turbulence.

A sickly child, cut off from many of the pleasures of his age, Edward Westermarck grew up to triumph over mountains

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and to stand on snowy glaciers where no one had been known to stand before. This encouraged him to think he might undertake the hardships of research among more primitive peoples, and for twenty-eight years he has been going back and forth to Morocco, gathering great store of material on the beliefs and customs of the people. As a young man his memory was poor, and once he heard that a professor had called him stupid; this disturbed him for a long time until he finally concluded that the professor's statement was exaggerated. It was Darwin who set him off on his early studies, and England has long shared him with his native Finland. Eighteen years were devoted to his second important work, and all his life shows a unity of purpose and performance almost quaint in a modern age. Here is almost a cloistered quiet and joy; it is well to be reminded that this may still be the lot of men who work with due humility and steadfastness at the tasks they love, and that the life of the scholar may still be, verily, a good one.

LORINE PRUETTE

Whither England and America?

America and England? By Nicholas Roosevelt. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $2.50.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S book appears to have been written with the London conference particularly in mind, and it may certainly be read with profit by any one who desires to understand the background of the British or American approaches to the question of naval reduction and limitation. Primarily, however, it is a comparison of the positions of Great Britain and the United States today as world Powers, and while what is said carries with it some obvious implications, it is not, in the usual sense, a work of propaganda for either country or for any cause.

A comparison, well buttressed with statistics, of the natural resources, industrial development, and commercial and financial expansion of the two countries, especially since the beginning of the present century, shows Great Britain holding on the whole, either actually or in prospect, second place. Ignorance and prejudice, as marked in the one country as in the other, have clouded an understanding of the situation, but the leadership which London still maintains over New York as the world's financial center is being offset by a steady increase in the American share of foreign financing; America's natural resources are better distributed and more readily accessible than those of Great Britain, and domestic production and foreign trade will unquestionably continue to grow. A fivefold increase in the past thirty years in the total volume of American production, and hence of trade, marks the United States as destined to "take the place of Great Britain as the leading commercial power of the world."

Weighing the advantages and disadvantages of a merchant marine, Mr. Roosevelt finds no special gain in carrying national products in national ships, and he sees no likelihood that American merchant shipping will menace British superiority "so long as the government remains in the shipping business," quite aside from the greater cost of building and operating American ships. A state of war, on the other hand, at once creates different problems. The World War afforded striking illustrations of the changed status of merchant vessels in the remarkable development of the convoy system, the use of fast British liners to defend the northern trade routes, and the notable performances of some of the German raiders. Neither laws nor treaties, however, seem to Mr. Roosevelt likely to avail to protect neutral commerce from interference by belligerents, and he even foresees a possibility that the United States, by insisting upon the freedom of the seas to a point where it became a party to a treaty intended to guarantee such freedom, might actually be placed in the position of a "moral outlaw" if it interfered with neutral British commerce. The Washington conference did not prevent Great Britain from getting the better of the bargain in the retention of effective naval tonnage, and Mr. Roosevelt is severe in his criticism of Secretary Hughes for failing to realize "how anxious the British and Japanese were to see America's 1916 building program stopped," and for "laying his entire hand on the table at the very first move" at the cost of losing "the only lever that might have helped him force through the entire program of limitation in all categories of ships."

In a chapter in which he ably contrasts British and American character and habits Mr. Roosevelt leaves distinctly the impression that the British people is losing its grip. "There are indications today," he writes, "of a mortal disease of the soul which, if sufficiently far advanced, may at last corrode the character—a combination of sloth, resistance to change, blindness, defeatism, and excessive temporizing which suggests a sick or exhausted civilization." He is hopeful, however, that better understanding may ultimately pave the way to "an enduring *pax Anglo-Americana*." On the soundness of that hope the London conference will, perhaps, shed some light.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

The Confederate President

Jefferson Davis: His Rise and Fall. A Biographical Narrative. By Allen Tate. Minton, Balch and Company. $3.50.

THIS latest study of the Confederate President is a singularly interesting piece of work. Based upon secondary material, chiefly the works of Dodd, Fleming, and Eckenrode, it makes no new contribution to our knowledge of Davis except what is to be found in the author's interpretation of him, but the story is presented with a freshness not hitherto associated with discussions of Davis. The work can scarcely be said to be a defense of Davis nor even to display a friendly attitude toward him, for it is on the whole sharply critical, but at the same time it attributes to him a larger measure of ability and, perhaps, more essential greatness than the majority of even his friendly critics have ever seen fit to put into print. Quite the most readable of the books about Davis, it gives the most vivid picture of the man that has yet appeared.

Along with the easy lightness of the author's style go a certain coldness and hardness, easier to feel than to define. The author does not fail to show for his subject the judicial appreciation that every biographer should possess, but he manifestly does not like him and apparently conceals irritation under a sort of frigidity. This impression may be due to the character of the interpretation. Mr. Tate is not hesitant about stating his conclusions—so little so, in fact, that one gathers that he was not hesitant in reaching them—and he writes with a sureness that only narrowly escapes being cocksure.

Mr. Tate's assertions that "Jefferson Davis was a great statesman, perhaps the most disinterested statesman in American history," and that his "character, his honor, his integrity were almost saintly" constitute a fairly complete description of his attitude toward Davis the man, but of Davis the President he is much more critical. His contention that Davis's election is an "unsolved mystery" provokes the thought that perhaps Mr. Tate is not good at puzzles, or that he is not so familiar with the background of that election as a biographer of Davis should be. He feels that either Toombs, Yancey, or Rhett had a better title, since they were typical of those who precipitated secession and desired to make of it a revolution. Davis, in contrast, represented the conservative elements in the South

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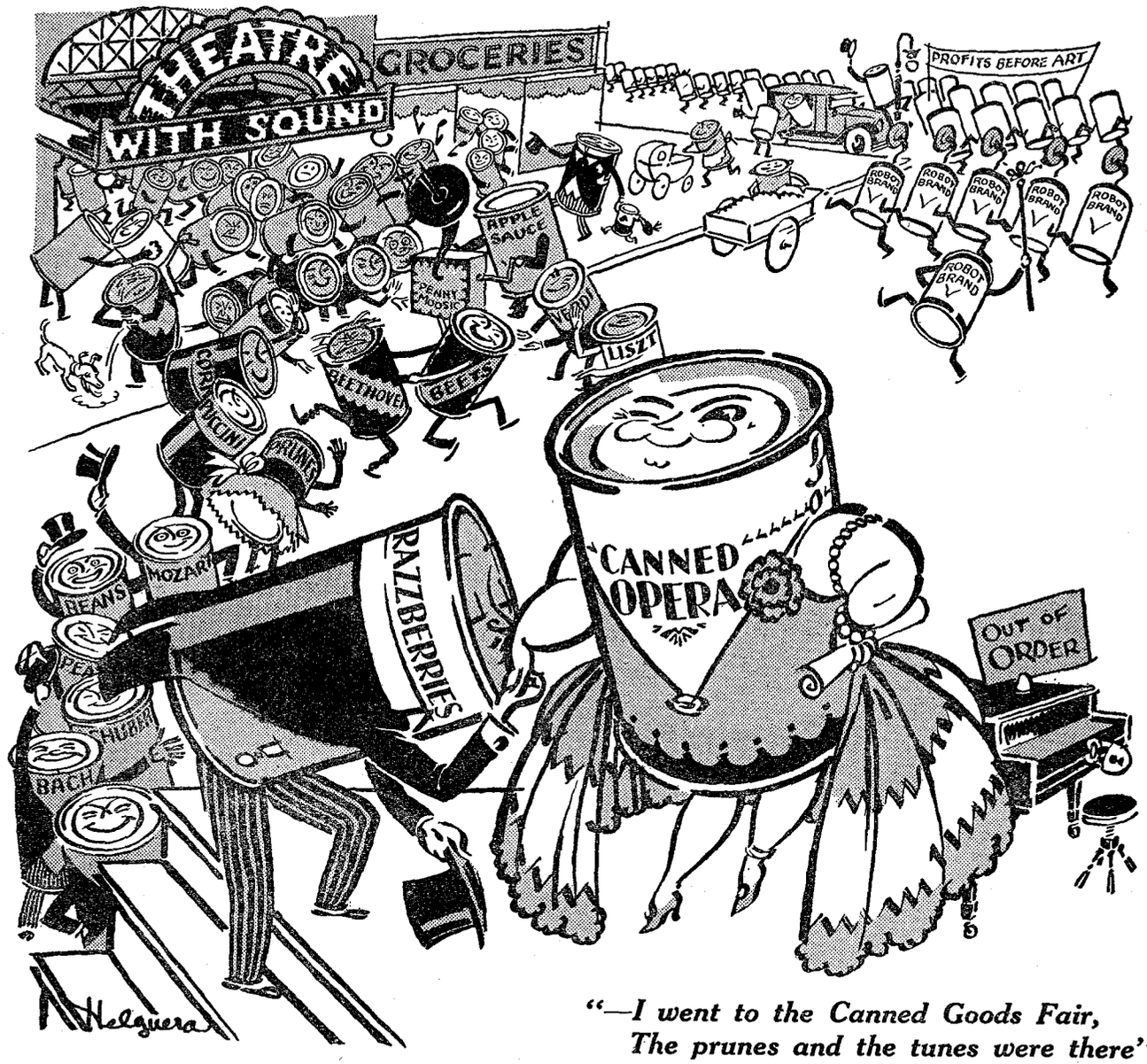

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which organized the Confederate government while eagerly anxious for reconciliation and reunion with the other States, and which never entirely escaped the thralls of that point of view. Revolution was not in their thinking. The Confederacy was to be merely a purified Union, one brought back to first principles.

Mr. Tate is of course correct in his implied thesis that Davis was not the best President the Confederacy might have had, but he is weak in proving that anyone else specifically would have been better. And he overlooks the fact that since there is little likelihood that any of those mentioned for the post would have given Lee his opportunity, the days of the Confederacy might conceivably have been fewer.

In his analysis of the defects of Davis as President Mr. Tate is on surer ground. He brings out clearly Davis's aloofness, his lack of contact with men, his inability to comprehend their motives. "He could not manage men and he was too great a character to let men manage him; that is the tragedy of his career." "He was a born compromiser of ideas; . . . he was incapable of compromise with men. He was too proud, too sensitive to reproof, he rose in crises to great heights of disinterested feeling and responsibility, but being a chronic neurotic, the price he paid was continuous headache." "He was a giant ridden by dyspepsia and neurasthenia, morbidly sensitive and emotionally undisciplined; his emotional instability bulwarked behind a boundless intellectual pride. He lacked emotional resilience, and he could not read the meaning of events; he could cap the hour with a formula, he could analyze the theoretical significance of the passing moment, . . . he could shatter the arguments of his shrewdest opponents, but he could not fathom the opponent's political cunning, or forestall its success. Davis's powerful will could not make up for the lack of emotional conviction, and he was doomed to the obstinate support of half-measures and, in his lack of vision, to the mere hope that it would all work out well in the end." "A constitutional pedant," he had little capacity as a practical politician, and pride of intellect, pride of conviction (his chief weakness), kept him from possessing any great capacity for popular leadership, particularly in the South which, in Mr. Tate's opinion, at the middle of the last century had "the best-informed political life this country has ever seen or is likely to see again."

From the author's conclusion, based upon Dr. Eckenrode's work, that the military policy adopted by Davis was responsible for the defeat of the Confederacy, I must dissent. It is easy, of course, to point out numerous occasions when victory seemed almost within grasp, but the historian who ventures into the misty realm of what might have happened under a different set of circumstances or conditions is on dangerous ground. There were, too, other factors involved which were quite as decisive as military policy. It is undoubted that the insistence of Davis upon purely defensive war seems now a blunder, but the South then was quite solidly convinced that it was a wise and right policy. The division of the South into departments seems positively stupid in the light of today, but it was, I believe, but a part of a system adopted by the United States as well as by the Confederacy. Davis blundered in ignoring the importance of the West, but only the tremendous superiority of the North in men and resources prevented a similar blunder there. However reprehensible was Davis's prejudice against Joseph E. Johnston, it is not certain that he blundered in his conviction that Johnston could not win a campaign. And while thus disagreeing with Mr. Tate, I may disagree also with his contention that Davis's unshakable belief in Braxton Bragg was his only major blunder as President, and agree most fervently that "it was a blunder of such magnitude that poor humanity must leave it to God alone to forgive."

The cocksure quality of the book and its disregard of the fact that hindsight is so much more common than foresight appear to justify a criticism of detail and even of major conclusions which should not, however, obscure commendation of the book as readable, interesting, and thought-provoking. It is, as well, a real contribution to the literature of Jefferson Davis.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton

Russia Interpreted

Humanity Uprooted. By Maurice Hindus. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $3.50.

MR. HINDUS'S new book, though not quite so well written or so revealing as his "Broken Earth," is a fine attempt to describe and interpret practically every phase of Soviet life—"institutions, people, quests." A mere glance at the comprehensive table of contents and the pithy chapter headings—Religion, Property, Man, Sex, Love, Family, Peasant, Proletarian, Communist, Youth, etc.—suggests the unusually wide range of the author's interests and observations. Obviously, in view of the difficulty and magnitude of Mr. Hindus's undertaking (and we must always bear in mind the great complexity of the subject and the frequent and kaleidoscopic changes in the Soviet scene), occasional inaccuracies, contradictions, platitudes, and unwarranted assertions are almost inevitable, particularly since the author seems to excel in immediate sensation and artistic emotion rather than in scientific analysis.

So fresh, so keen are Mr. Hindus's sensory perceptions that to him the mere process of seeing, hearing, touching things is in itself a glowing experience, a thrill. Hence, his naively hyperbolic style; hence, his rhythmic verbosity, his breathless repetitiveness, his chronic raptures. The Russian's atheism is always "riotous" or "defiant" or "hilarious"; the Russian's eyes invariably "sparkling" or "glowing" or "burning." History "bristles," contrasts "shriek." Yet through it all, and perhaps because of it all—for the Russian scene does invite hyperbole—the reader is made conscious of the terrific flux, the dynamics, the conflicts of the transition stage of the revolution. Old morals, decayed religions, tottering institutions, obsolete habits and attitudes and prejudices—everything is breaking, crashing, disappearing, and giving place to the new, the vigorous, the daring. There are savagery here and beastliness, self-sacrifice and heroism, drama and pathos and beauty. Where the author depicts, he wields his pen with authority. He knows his Soviet Russia; and one accepts his pictures, though heightened in color and lacking in the subtler shadings, unreservedly.

When, however, Mr. Hindus attacks ideas, philosophies, intellectual currents, when he becomes an expositor rather than a narrator, he is less convincing and slips at times into the trite, the false, or the absurd. Here is a typical illustration: "I have often thought," he says gravely, "that fundamentally what distinguishes a Communist from other revolutionaries is his readiness to kill and to be killed." Surely this tidbit is not the result of repeated cogitation. In his historical data and his references to the Russian classics, again, Mr. Hindus is not always sufficiently vigilant. For instance, his entire discussion of the absence of the chivalric tradition in Russia and the effect of such absence on the present development of sexual and marital relations is based on a somewhat inadequate mastery of historical antecedents. His references to the Russians of the tenth and eleventh centuries as "savage" and to Kiev as the place where the first printing-press was set up are wrong, while his branding of Lermontov and Pushkin, particularly Pushkin, as "tearful" poets is utterly absurd.

But there is no need of multiplying examples. After all,

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these are details which may lessen the value of the book for the pedant, but they do not at all need to affect the average reader. On the whole the book is sound, worth while, and a genuine contribution to the growing literature about the Soviet Union. It fully deserves a prominent place on the shelves of anyone interested in the subject.

JOSHUA KUNITZ

The Great Dissenter

The Dissenting Opinions of Mr. Justice Holmes. Arranged with Introductory Notes by Alfred Lief. Foreword by Dr. George W. Kirchwey. The Vanguard Press. $4.50.

THIS book is a unique tribute of a kind that has never been paid, as far as I know, to any judge of the United States, not even to John Marshall. In one volume there have been collected here the dissenting opinions of Mr. Justice Holmes, with enough of his majority opinions to make clear his position. The value of such a compilation should lie far beyond considerations of convenience. It must be not only a recognition of the great role which Justice Holmes has filled but also a means of continuing and increasing his influence. Thus in medieval times were collected the *consilia* of the great jurists—of an Azo, an Irnerius, a Bartolus.

The reader will find here, however, touches of the twentieth century to disturb the analogy. Mr. Lief, who has arranged the cases, has unfortunately been unable to restrain his wit. He has seen fit to prefix to the opinions titles of his own invention which can hardly be said to accord with the great issues they raise. I need only mention such inspirations as "What Price Water?", "Taxis and the Common Law," or "Uncle Sam as Tenant." He has also arranged the cases in groups which are not always happy, since they lead to arbitrary emphasis upon single aspects of the opinions. Such categories as "On Hampering Social Experiments" or "On Infringing upon Freedom" do express characteristic preoccupations of Justice Holmes, but they have made it necessary to assemble the opinions that remain under such novel constitutional divisions as "On Usurping Power" and "On Escaping Taxes." This is not merely captious criticism. The arrangement adopted fails to show the element of growth in the constitutional doctrines of Justice Holmes. In 1906 he upheld punishment for constructive contempt even as against a defense that the charges were true; in 1923 he went so far as to ask the pointed and embarrassing question, "How can it be pretended that the charge obstructed the administration of justice when the judge seemingly was willing to condone it if the petitioner would retract?" Yet the latter case precedes the former. Only a simple chronological marshaling of the opinions could exhibit the achievement of that noble skepticism of Justice Holmes which is of even greater moment than any of his attitudes toward particular constitutional problems—a skepticism which has come to consist of constitutionally believing everything.

It is this which makes him the great dissenter. Yet in this respect, too, he has not been appreciated in the all too brief foreword of four pages contributed by Dean Kirchwey. The latter, indeed, denies Justice Holmes the claim and the title. He points out that, after all, he has dissented in only one out of every eight or ten cases. I pass over the fact that obviously the average case involves only ordinary legal matters, not great issues. Dissent is not to be interpreted statistically. It recalls to me the method introduced some years ago by Charles Warren in defending the Supreme Court; after all, he said, it had held only fifty-three acts of Congress void. Is this a way to measure crises? It may, indeed, be that in a better constitutional world Justice Holmes would not be dissenting. The most

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damaging remark on constitutionalism ever made is contained in the opening sentence of one of his opinions which really should be quoted more often than it has been: "I also think that the statute is constitutional, and but for the decision of my brethren I should have felt pretty clear about it." But it is another matter to say that it is practically involuntary dissent to be compelled to point out that a steel laborer is not on an equality for purposes of bargaining with the United States Steel Corporation, or that the Nineteenth Amendment has not abolished all differences between men and women. For the vindication of these truths we need not, as Dean Kirchwey concludes, look to "the years to come." They have long been vindicated in public opinion, and even Justice Holmes's brethren have changed their minds and departed from the ideas once enunciated for the court by the naive Justice Peckham. Justice Holmes (and, of course, Justice Brandeis) dissenting, have not done so in vain.

WILLIAM SEAGLE

Books in Brief

Cyrano. By Cameron Rogers. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

For the biofiction that enables these earnest days to enjoy the old excitement beneath culture's cloak, few figures are more providentially equipped than Cyrano de Bergerac. Bearing a bought coat-of-arms, this long-nosed libertine, best swordsman of swift dueling days, most savage satirist of a bitter age, stood always at the door of triumph as it closed, and died—his greatest work unpublished—struck by a falling beam. Perhaps, indeed, the legend Rostand has helped create has grown more real than the man; for Cameron Rogers, whose picture of Paris brings its streets to us in all their noisy jostling and crawly dirt, has not given life to the man who struts them. The swordsman seems drawn for Douglas Fairbanks; the man of letters lives the later years of a bolder Ichabod Crane. The bibliography, off-handedly including Sainte-Beuve's "Lundis" (eleven volumes), is content, for the greatest authority on Cyrano and the other libertine writers—F. Lachèvre—with a reference to a magazine article. Those, however, to whom the presence of the booklist gives countenance will enjoy the romance that precedes it.

The Iron Man and the Tin Woman. By Stephen Leacock. Dodd, Mead and Company. $2.

Apart from his college work Mr. Leacock has written eighteen books, he says in a letter quoted on the jacket of this one. He goes on to say that he would sooner have written "Alice in Wonderland" than the whole of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. Well, here is number eighteen, and while it is far from being another "Alice in Wonderland" or even another "Nonsense Novel," it contains forty pieces of nonsense combined with satire which one wishes the right people might be forced to read. Some of the pieces are better than others; no humorist can be always at his best, but Mr. Leacock is one of those who is never at his worst.

Instinct and Intelligence. By R. W. G. Hingston. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

If we knew better what either of them were we might draw sharper lines between instinct and intelligence, though if the behaviorists should succeed in making of all human action a mere chain of reflexes to external stimuli the distinction would be lost. Major Hingston writes as a prebehaviorist, but the result is the same. Documenting his every statement with a series of observations on insect life in the tropical East, he concludes that some insects at least have memory and the ability to learn from experience—"intelligence." "Regarded from a psychological point of view," he says, "the brain of man and the brain of the insect possess the same fundamental qualities." Some of his evidences of intelligence might be defined as complicated instinct, but the old religious insistence upon a sharp line between intelligent man and instinctive beast is being whittled away from both ends. Any amateur philosopher is free to draw his own inferences and conclusions from the rich data here presented.

The Picture Book of Sculpture. By Harold and Mary Fowler. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

This book is intended to interest children in sculpture and give them some understanding of it. There are illustrations representative of the work of different countries and periods, accompanied by clear, interesting, and undogmatic descriptions of the pieces and schools. The only fault is an inadequate representation of modern work.

Tu Fu: The Autobiography of a Chinese Poet. Arranged from his Poems, and Translated by Florence Ayscough. Houghton Mifflin Company. $5.

By arranging his verse in a sequence which records and comments upon his own development and piecing out the gaps with her notes, Mrs. Ayscough contrives to give us an autobiography of the Tang poet whom the Chinese regard as "the Master." The book is additionally valuable for its coincidental treatment of Chinese poetry and history, but Mrs. Ayscough's translations are somewhat too literal to give pleasure. There is to be a second and completing volume.

A Short History of Chinese Civilization. By Richard Wilhelm. The Viking Press. $4.

Compact, scholarly, and understanding, this rather short book contains the matter of a political history, a social history, a history of the arts, the literature, and the religions of China, and in three of these fields can displace the best previous book on the subject. All that may be said in objection is that at times the author is too reverential. The book is handsomely bound and superbly illustrated.

Films

Screen Musical Comedy

A GREAT deal can be said for as well as against the exact reproduction of a stage performance by means of the motion picture. But to stress this problem today would be to overlook the fact that the technical powers of the motion picture are still wholly inadequate for creating the illusion of a performance that is enacted within the walls of a theater. Nothing less than such an illusion can justify the use of the stage technique on the screen, and the penalty for ignoring this truth is a painful incongruity that often borders on the inept. Screen adaptations of musical comedies are particularly open to criticism on this score. This season the Hollywood workshops have been turning them out by the dozen, with the majority of them patterned faithfully after the stage model. In the few cases where music and dancing were incidental and woven more or less intelligently into the story, the pictures were at least bearable, and occasionally, as for instance "Sunny Side Up," even quite entertaining. It is, however, the attempt to adapt to the screen the conventional genre of the stage musical comedy that deserves greater consideration, in spite of the poverty of artistic thought which it represents.

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Films, lectures, etc., continued on next page

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It scarcely needs pointing out that the conventions of musical comedy derive whatever meaning they have from being a frank entertainment on a stage that is physically connected with the audience. The characters suddenly breaking into song or forming themselves into dancing columns are never anything more than mere actors whose only concern is to entertain those who are watching their performance. For its part the audience expects from them nothing more. It disregards the absurdities of the plot or the antics of the characters, because it never associates them with real life.

The screen imitators of musical comedy seem to be ignorant of this essential relationship between the actor and the spectator. They place their characters in perfectly natural surroundings, introduce them as perfectly normal people, and then make them behave as if they were escaped lunatics. Far be it from me to suggest that highly conventionalized acting is impossible on the screen. On the contrary, it is one of the things that the motion picture needs most, but the convention used must spring from the peculiar properties of the latter and not from those of the stage. Today the screen, in the strict sense of the term, is merely a neutral surface for carrying images, and only helps to emphasize the gap which divides the picture from the audience. But it is the only possible link between the two, and to make this link perform its liaison service the visual images must be hitched to the screen. In other words the screen must become a physical reality in the eyes of the audience, a part of the theater building which provides the graphic frame of reference for the very being of characters in space, as well as for the form in which they are presented to view. By this means a motion picture will not merely be demonstrated, but will actually be performed before the spectator, and a basis will be supplied for conventionalized acting of every kind, including that of musical comedy.

The absence of such cinematic approach in "The Love Parade" (Criterion) is particularly regrettable, for apart from its treatment of singing this picture is a very remarkable achievement in cinematic comedy. The surprising thing about "The Love Parade" is that its most telling comic effects are produced not by Mr. Chevalier's acting, which in this picture is only moderately good, but by the deft juxtaposition and contrast of scenes provided by Mr. Lubitsch's direction. In the field of light comedy Hollywood has no greater master than Mr. Lubitsch.

One wishes there were the same avoidance of the obvious in "Sally" (Winter Garden). The picture shows the charming personality of Miss Marilyn Miller to some advantage but is a routine piece of work in all other respects.

ALEXANDER BAKSHY

Drama

Direct from Moscow

SOME weeks ago the junior members of the Theater Guild were permitted to have their fling, and chose for the occasion the Soviet drama "Red Rust." The production has achieved a greater popularity than perhaps even the parties concerned had hoped for, and those who would like to know what the contemporary Russian theater is like can get a very accurate idea by paying a visit to the Martin Beck. Certainly the essentially realistic spirit of the piece is far more typical of the Moscow drama as I saw it some eighteen months ago than are any of the futuristic extravaganzas more often talked of here; and certainly its precise, rather literal-minded earnestness is as far from the vague pretentiousness of the communistic plays written by American experimenters as it is characteristic of the contemporary Russian playwright. Even the unconventional devices used in staging the piece are not employed in the interest of eccentric aesthetic theories, but solely in order to make possible the introduction of significant representations of every-day scenes, and that, as I have always maintained, is the key to all that is most vital in the Soviet theater, for it is, essentially, a theater closer and more literally faithful to the contemporary life of its audience than any other theater in the world.

"Red Rust" concerns itself with the story of the downfall of a hypocrite—a hero of the revolution who is using his reputation and his gift for employing the catchwords of the new order for the purpose of furthering his selfish love of power. Moving against a background of tumultuous student life, it manages in the course of its action both to refer in some way or other to all the chief conflicts of opinion current in Soviet life and to offer a more stinging criticism of certain aspects of that life than those who have an exaggerated idea of the stringency of the communist censorship would believe possible. Its purpose is largely didactic, at least to the extent that it concerns itself with nothing which does not have an immediate social significance, and in that respect it certainly belongs to a type of drama pretty well played out in Western Europe and America, but, as no one who exposes himself to the tension and excitement of "Red Rust" can longer doubt, the Russians have revitalized the form. About their writing is a passion and an enthusiasm which inevitably take hold of even the spectator who has, in the abstract, no great interest in social experiment, and they indubitably make drama out of sociological material. Moreover, to say that is to say that they succeed where no other school of dramatists has succeeded in ten years past.

I suspect that the reason behind this fact lies less in the appearance of any outstanding genius than in the atmosphere in which the contemporary Russian lives, for that atmosphere is one generated by an intense and hopeful preoccupation with social questions. The thesis drama of Europe was, or at least soon became, a weary and hopeless thing. Its authors had scant faith that anything would be accomplished, and they tended almost inevitably to write plays which ended, not triumphantly or even tragically, but simply on a note of depression. In Russia, on the other hand, the form into which such plays naturally fall is the form of melodrama—with the villain foiled and the hero on top. Change, at least, as they know from experience, can come. The old order can pass, and even those who are farthest from believing that the millennium is about to arrive know that revolution is possible, and feel that where things can be different there is room to hope that they may be better. Hence revolutionary drama is real to them, and abstract questions of social justice seem immediately significant.

In many respects "Red Rust" is characteristically naive. Its most theatrically effective scene—the scene in which the villain practices his speech while eating his lunch and at its climax proclaims, "Arise, ye children of starvation," with a full mouth, and a sandwich and a bottle of beer in either outstretched hand—is elementary in its irony. Moreover, the happy end is brought about with an almost childish simplicity, and the final curtain descends upon one of those orgies of flag-waving which are almost inevitable in any Soviet play, even if only, as was perhaps here the case, in order to convince the censor that the author is at bottom soundly communistic. But naivete is permissible when it can justify itself by an effectiveness as great as this play achieves, and when it can interest, as "Red Rust" does, an audience so remote from its passions as an American audience must be. Incidentally, the junior members of the Guild have every reason to congratulate themselves on excellent acting and direction.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Fascist Finance

By FRANCESCO NITTI

THE following article on the present economic situation in Italy is reprinted from the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* of January 3. Its author, Francesco Nitti, is an eminent economist and was Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of Italy prior to the Fascist regime. He is now in exile.

It is very difficult to procure exact information as to the finance of countries under a dictatorship. There is no check; parliamentary documents are valueless; the censored press inspires no confidence. What can be said, however, is that dictatorship finance is always bad. . . .

There are very alarming symptoms in Italy. The real conditions of credit and industry are evidenced by the bills of exchange protested and the drafts not honored at due date: the number was 306,703 in 1922, just before the arrival of Fascism, and 743,972 in 1928. Declarations of bankruptcy are being avoided as far as possible; the courts are very tolerant. But the number of bankruptcies has increased in the same period from 3,828 to 12,103. A large number of banks have failed, and the most important industries are in difficulties. According to the *Bulletin Statistique* of the League of Nations, last August Italy had 1,204 bankruptcies, Germany 845, France 811, the United Kingdom 357 and 286 windings-up of companies, and so on. Bearing in mind that Italian industry is only a small fraction of the industry of Britain, Germany, or France, the extreme gravity of the situation which has been produced through the suppression of all economic liberty is clear. The New York *Wall Street Journal* has examined the situation of the security market in Italy. Everything is controlled. Sales are not free, and quotations are purely artificial. Stockbrokers are compelled to send in returns of sellers. Stockbrokers in Rome have been imprisoned simply for having said that the quotations for certain securities ought to be lower. In spite of this, government stocks are falling every day; and even this is paradoxical. The result of every stabilization has been to raise the prices of government securities. In France and Belgium there were rapid increases in price after stabilization. In Italy no one believes in the stabilization of the lira, and government stocks are falling daily although the existing prices are artificial.

	3½ per cent stock		*5 per cent consolidated*
1924	83.55	.....	97.28
1925	76.29	.....	94.49
1926	68.50	.....	90.00
1927	66.49	.....	79.08
1928	73.32	.....	84.16
1929 (present price)	67.50	.....	80.45

(The present prices include the December coupons, 1.75 for the 3½ per cent and 2.50 for consols.)

It is well known that the word of the Fascist Government is of very restricted value. In November, 1926, it did not pay the treasury bonds which fell due, and compulsorily converted 23,504,000 of treasury bonds into a consolidated loan which had to be accepted at a very high price that is constantly falling. In 1931, 7,000,000 more treasury bonds will fall due, and it is known already that they will not be able to be redeemed.

The thing which has especially upset economic conditions in Italy has been the stabilization of the lira.... Stabilization was effected at an absurd level on December 21, 1927. In the decree of stabilization the pound sterling was fixed at 92.46 lire and the dollar at 19.10. In round figures Italy stabilized at about 1 to 3½ of gold parity, while France stabilized at 1 to 5 and Belgium at 1 to 7. Italy is much poorer than France and Belgium and her economic resources are very limited. This stabilization was a Bartholomew's Night for the national wealth. Its result was to render the taxation insupportable, the public debt excessively burdensome, and production very difficult. Expressed in gold, the central and local government expenditure in Italy is little less than that of France, which is at least three times richer.

In order to maintain the artificial level of the lira (which cannot be kept up indefinitely), loans have been contracted in America, and the industrialists have also been compelled to contract loans, the aggregate exceeding $500,000,000. Nearly 9,000,000,000 lire have been lost in the operations of the treasury. Debts have been piled up, piled up continually. In order still to keep the lira steady, recourse is now being had to the reserves of the Banca d'Italia, the only bank of issue. The bank's reserves of gold and of first-class foreign securities fell from 12,516,000,000 lire in March, 1927, to 10,240,000,000 at the end of September, 1929. It is not to be supposed that this reserve actually exists in gold and securities. The figure is calculated in "paper gold," that is, by multiplying the actual quantity of gold or securities by the stabilization quota. The real reserve was equivalent eighteen months ago to £623,000,000, and has since dropped to the equivalent of £510,000,000.* It is falling daily, and it is almost impossible to get credits abroad.

The trade balance has continually gone from bad to worse; the balance of foreign payments is menacing and is making it impossible to sustain the existing rate of the lira.

	Imports	*Exports* (*In millions of lire*)	*Deficit*
1924	19,381	16,529	2,852
1925	26,200	21,015	5,184
1927	20,375	15,632	4,743
1928	21,920	14,559	7,361
1929 (first 8 months)	14,675	9,593	5,082

(*Gazzetta Ufficiale,* February 21 and October 21, 1929.)

The present year shows virtually the same deficit as 1928. Thus in five years the deficit has grown in round figures from £140,000,000 to £250,000,000. Italy is no longer a creditor but a debtor country.

The merchant marine is passing through a severe crisis. Its revenues are only of limited importance. In the past the balance of payments was made good from two big sources of revenue. The more important of these was the money sent home by Italian emigrants. The other source was the expenditure of tourists; it has fallen nearly 40 per cent. . . .

Italian emigrants are almost all anti-Fascist workers, and have no sympathy with the government and no confidence in the stability of the lira. The export of money is not free. But the rich Italians are convinced that the stabilization is only transitory, and that the lira will fall. They are secretly sending abroad all that they can dispose of.

What is the cause of this situation? It lies primarily in the heavy expenditure of the dictatorship. In order to maintain itself in power it has had to increase the public expenditure, undertake useless works, and appease a large number of

* At 92.46 lire to the pound sterling, these figures would work out at £135,000,000 and £111,000,000.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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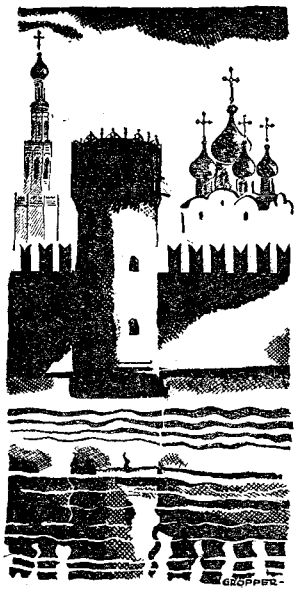
discontented people. The state budget is an insoluble puzzle. There is no real budget, since the government can do what it will by decree. Since the decree of June 5, 1926, a series of tricks have been resorted to to dissemble the expenditure. There are a large number of special accounts outside the budget. The current budget, which showed a small deficit, has in reality a deficit of nearly 2,000,000,000 lire.

The waste is so serious that even under the Fascist regime an interesting document, the Report of the General Commission of the Budget, presented to the Chamber on June 11 last, was compelled to admit them. This document admitted (page 30) that the real military expenditure had more than doubled between 1922-23 and 1927-28. Alongside the army, navy, and air service, there are six special militias for the defense of Fascism, with an enormous personnel. The police expenditure is three times as heavy as in France. According to the budget commission, the interest on the public debt increased from 4,134,000,000 lire in 1922-23 to 4,674,000,000 in 1927-28; the expenditure on the state employees and functionaries from 3,558,000,000 to 4,376,000,000; the expenditure on pensions (Fascism has dismissed the best officials in order to make room for its faithful supporters) from 359,000,000 to 753,000,000; on the civil services (including personnel) from 3,257,000,000 to 4,745,000,000, and so on. Expenditure in the colonies has gone to so absurd a length that it amounts now to the equivalent of nearly £50 per head of the native population. . . .

Fascism has to spend lavishly; not only for its heavy military requirements, its swollen police, its six special militias, but hundreds of millions of lire on continual and very active propaganda abroad. The discussion in the American Senate on the subject of the publications of *Harper's Magazine* is very interesting in this connection. Expenditure is incurred for purely political purposes in Austria, Hungary, and the Balkans. Albania has been armed, and in this poor and ill-endowed country more than £60,000,000 have been spent. . . .



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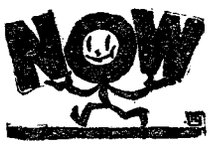

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